

THE LIFE
OF
THOMAS REYNOLDS, Esq.

FORMERLY OF KILKEA CASTLE, IN THE COUNTY OF KILDARE.

BY HIS SON
THOMAS REYNOLDS.

What if He hath decreed that I shall first
Be tried in humble state, and things adverse,
By tribulations, injuries, insults,
Contempts, and scorns, and snares, and violence,
Suffering, abstaining, quietly expecting,
Without distrust or doubt."

MILTON'S PARADISE REGAINED, Book iij.

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THE LIFE

OF

THOMAS REYNOLDS.



CHAPTER X.

Remarks upon the Trial of Oliver Bond.

1798.

ON Monday, July the 23rd, Oliver Bond was put to the bar. This gentleman, who was a silk-mercator in the city of Dublin, had been, for many years, a leading member of the Society of United Irishmen. In 1793, when that Society was in its infancy, and before such associations had been declared illegal, he was its secretary; and had rendered himself remarkable for the bold manner in which he opposed himself to the House of Lords, in a personal contest with that House. In 1798, when the Societies of United Irishmen had arrived at the highest state of organisation which they ever reached, Mr. Oliver Bond was a member of the Directory of five persons, whose hidden power moved the whole mass, being communicated, through the various grades of provincial, county, baronial, and district committees, to the

original simple societies, through a succession of elective officers so admirably arranged, that no man among them was acquainted with the persons of any but his immediate superior, and the members of the inferior societies through which he might have passed.* I have stated thus much by way of introduction, to account for the great interest which this trial excited, and the increased energy with which Mr. Curran sought to defend his client. The Government were now about to strike at the head of one of the leaders of a great confederacy, upon whose acquittal or conviction hung, not only the fate of the remaining confederates, but the stability of the Vice Regal Government itself. Mr. Reynolds was the only witness for the Crown. It became, therefore, of the greatest consequence to invalidate his testi-

* The idea was borrowed from the French. In 1795 a conspiracy was discovered in Paris, of which a man of the name of Babœuf was the chief. "The conspirators, finding themselves closely followed and watched, had seen no other resource but to conspire most secretly, and in such a manner that the chiefs of the conspiracy should remain absolutely unknown. They had chosen four to form a secret directory of public welfare. The secret directory was to communicate with twelve principal agents, who were unacquainted with one another, and who were to organise societies of patriots in all the quarters of Paris. These twelve agents, each thus acting by himself, were forbidden to name the four members of the secret directory; they were to speak and to enforce obedience in the name of a mysterious and supreme authority. In this manner the prime movers of the conspiracy could scarcely be laid hold of, and, if even one were seized, that circumstance would not ensure the apprehension of the others. This organisation was actually established agreeably to Babœuf's plan: societies of patriots existed all over Paris, and, through the medium of the twelve principal agents, received the impulse of an unknown authority."—*Thiers' History of the French Revolution*.

mony. If a reasonable doubt could, even now, be thrown upon his private character, the jury might be induced to reject his evidence ; when Mr. Oliver Bond and the remaining prisoners must have been set at liberty, and the unfortunate gentleman, convicted on Saturday, must have been pardoned. It will accordingly be found that Mr. Curran, and his learned colleagues, used every effort, strained every nerve, to blacken the character of the witness ; appealing to every passion, every weakness of human nature, in favour of the prisoner ; and reminding the jury of old connexions and old associations. Mr. Oliver Bond had, for a great many years, been a very large purchaser at Mr. Reynolds's manufactories. Hence arose that private intimacy which led Mr. Reynolds, who was a very young man compared to Mr. Bond, to place great and fatal confidence in that gentleman's counsels—a confidence which it will appear in the sequel led to the position in which both these gentlemen at last found themselves.

The Judges present were the Right Honourable Viscount Carleton, the Honourable Mr. Justice Chamberlaine, the Honourable Mr. Baron Smith, the Honourable Mr. Baron George, and the Honourable Mr. Justice Day.

Mr. Bond, upon being put to the bar, and asked whether he was ready to take his trial, replied that he was not. Mr. Curran then moved to put off the trial, and put in two affidavits. The first related to some statement which had appeared in the newspapers. Mr. Curran gave the following account of the contents and

object of the second affidavit :—" But, my Lords, there is another ground, which, without the aid of the former, will be sufficient to postpone the trial. It is in the judicial recollection of the court, that upon one trial or two Mrs. Molloy was produced as to the character of a principal witness for the prosecution. The materiality of that witness in the present case appears from his name being mentioned in the indictment, in an overt act, which is alleged to be personal to that witness. It is stated by affidavit, that this lady is very recently gone away from her place of abode, as if with a design of letting the trial pass without giving her attendance. It is sworn that her attendance is material to the trial; she is the aunt of the witness likely to be produced on the part of the prosecution : it is added, my Lords, that we do hope to procure her attendance ; she may have gone for some other motive. The agent states that he has used and will use every degree of exertion to procure her attendance. Upon these grounds we hope the trial may be postponed."

Mr. Attorney-General—" My Lords, I trust I shall have no difficulty in removing any impression from the minds of the court, if any has been made by what has been said by the counsel for the prisoner. My Lords, two grounds have been stated for postponing the trial ; one is, that two papers have published incorrect notes of the trials (of former prisoners); the other is, that Mrs. Molloy was not to be found as of this morning, to give evidence, and she is alluded to as a person who had been formerly examined, and who, of course, would be

examined again.” “Now, as to Mrs. Molloy, you have judicial knowledge of her conduct; there is no suggestion that we could be desirous to remove her; she was only called to the character of a witness; she was not acquainted with a single part of the case; but she was a most willing witness to the point she was brought for, and they have four other witnesses to the same point. *I trust I shall be relieved from speaking upon her character*; she may be forthcoming before the end of the trial. I am extremely unwilling to advert to what may come out in evidence, and I rather wish to leave it to the judicial recollection of the court.”

Mr. Ponsonby replied, and cited the Dean of St. Asaph's case; where the court postponed the trial of an information, upon affidavit of certain publications which were circulated through the country.

Lord Carleton, having disposed of the first ground, observed, “With regard to the evidence of Mrs. Molloy, I have consulted my brethren who presided during the trials when she was examined, and I leave it to them to state their opinion upon this part of the motion.”

(The Judges who tried MacCan were Baron Smith, Baron George, and Justice Day; those who tried Byrne were Justice Crookshank, Baron George, and Justice Day. Of these, Baron Smith, Baron George, and Justice Day were present and heard this motion.)

Baron Smith delivered his opinion as follows:—

“There was an affidavit formerly made by Mr. Bond, which shows his opinion of the materiality of her

evidence : it stated that there was a certain bond of Thomas Reynolds, and a note which had been deposited by Elizabeth Cahill with Mrs. Molloy ; when Mrs. Molloy was served with the subpoena, she was served with a notice to produce the bond and note. From this affidavit it appears sufficiently to the court in what respect, and in what respect alone, she is considered as material by the prisoner. Then what appeared upon the trial of MacCan at which I presided ? She was examined as to the bond and note mentioned in the affidavit, and she said they had been deposited with her, but as soon as she was served with the subpoena and the notice she sent them to Mrs. Cahill, hoping that she might thereby escape trouble. Nothing more did she say with respect to them, nor was she examined further as to them. With respect to the credit of Mr. Reynolds she was not examined at all ; I speak of MacCan's trial ; I was not present at the other. I express my concurrence with what Lord Carleton has said (on the other ground).” *

The other Judges concurring, the court said—

“ We are of opinion that the motion be refused upon both grounds.”

The panel was then called over. The prisoner challenged twenty peremptorily, and nineteen for want of freehold. Four were set by, on the part of the Crown, and two were excused.

The following jury was sworn :

* Mr. Howell's report does not give the judgments delivered by the other judges.

Sir Thomas Lighton, Bart.	Richard Jackson,
Benjamin Richardson,	John Murray,
Charles Thorpe,	Maurice Roberts,
William Kirkpatrick,	Joshua Manders,
Robert Alexander, Jun.	John Crossthwaite,
Robert Hanna,	William Pike.

Of these twelve gentlemen, Richard Jackson had sat upon the jury who tried MacCan ; and Joshua Manders, John Crossthwaite, and William Pike had tried Byrne.

As soon as the jury were sworn, Lord Carleton and Baron George retired, leaving Mr. Justice Chamberlaine, Mr. Baron Smith, and Mr. Justice Day to try the prisoner.

Mr. Baron Smith tried MacCan.

Mr. Justice Day tried Byrne.

I have drawn attention to these circumstances that it might be seen that the prisoner used his power of challenge in such a manner as, by the forbearance of the Crown, to secure jurymen who were acquainted with all that had been alleged against Mr. Reynolds on both the former trials ; while the Judges took care that he should have the benefit of the presence of one Judge who had sat on each of the former trials, whose notes might have been forthcoming, had the prisoner's counsel chosen to call for them.

Mr. Howell states that the speeches of counsel were not given in Mr. Ridgeway's report of this trial ; he has taken them from another (anonymous) publication.

Mr. Attorney-General. " My Lords, and Gentlemen of the Jury—Notwithstanding that I am so much accustomed to discharge duties similar to that which now

devolves on me ; notwithstanding that for many days past, I have, in common with the Bench, been engaged in vindication of the public rights ; never in any moment of my life have I arisen under the impression of more solemn feelings, or on an occasion the importance of which claims more exertion on my part, or attention on that of the public. I am not at all surprised that so many people attend this trial ; or that it excites so much and such general anxiety ; for I am free to acknowledge, that on the subject-matter of the prisoner's trial the public safety depends in trembling and fearful existence." (After some observations called forth by the disturbance occasioned by the crowds pressing into court, the learned Attorney-General proceeded thus): "The prisoner at the bar stood committed under the charge now preferred against him so early as the 12th of March last, and the commission under which your Lordships sit has been sealed now more than two months ; and the prisoner and the public have had sufficient time to be perfectly aware of the nature and extent of the charges to be adduced on the present trial. In addition to this, the prisoner has had other great advantages : the time previous to trial, in which he should by law be furnished with a copy of his indictment, and the names of the witnesses to be produced against him, has been more than doubled, and most glad shall I be of every circumstance that can afford him an opportunity of establishing his innocence."

(Among the advantages possessed by the prisoner on this occasion, the Attorney-General might have enumerated his perfect knowledge, so far back as the

beginning of May, that Mr. Reynolds had joined the Government, he having been delivered into their hands by Mr. Oliver Bond's own friends; the opportunity that knowledge afforded of seeking out persons who might be willing to depose to whatever they knew or had heard to Mr. Reynolds's prejudice; and the power of ascertaining the most effective way of producing that evidence, afforded by the experience obtained of its extent and efficacy in the two preceding trials; advantages of no little weight in the hands of Mr. Curran.) "The prisoner at the bar is a native of the north of Ireland; many of the jury know the respectability of his connexions in that part of the kingdom, and with those very jurors most conversant of that fact, I leave the prisoner to avail himself of this favourable knowledge. The prisoner has been long a resident of this city, prosperous in a very extensive trade, and by that tie connected with every part of the kingdom. He is a man of strong mind and body, and of talents which, if perverted to the purposes of mischief, are formidable indeed. Within the precincts of that city, where he has resided so many years, he now comes to take his trial, and on charges of a conspiracy, proceeded upon in the metropolis of Ireland, and almost within the view of every man here. This is an additional and great advantage to the prisoner, and a conspicuous feature in our laws—a trial of the vicinage; *for thus an opportunity is afforded of knowing the character of every person brought forward*, and of forming a decision under all the advantages of trial

by jury.” (The learned gentleman then made some observations upon the indictment, in the course of which he said that)—“It is not to be calculated what mischief has probably been effected by the doctrine, that a rebellion in Ireland cannot affect the monarch in England, or, on that principle, become an act of high treason; or the evils which might further result from such an axiom, had it not been exploded by the voice of the Bench; but, thank Heaven! the more the people of these countries understand the law, the more will they reverence it, and securely repose under its protection.”

(The impression that rebellion in Ireland was not high treason, as respected the king's person, was very strong in that country. It had probably arisen, or at least had been greatly strengthened, by the successful revolt of the volunteers under Lord Charlemont in 1783—a revolt which, so far from being treated as high treason, had obtained for Ireland the first spark of freedom which she had enjoyed since the time of Elizabeth, and procured for its authors and leaders every honour and reward in the power of a grateful people to bestow. The Irish people had long been accustomed to make a wide distinction between the King of Great Britain and Ireland, and the English Government. While anxious to shake off the thralldom in which they were held by the latter, the great mass of the people paid willing allegiance to the former; and nothing was more difficult than to convince the people of Ireland that rebellion against English supremacy was high treason

against the King. The greatest lawyers of the day urged this distinction in defence of their clients; and the judges repeatedly found themselves compelled to put it down. The Attorney-General [then went on to observe upon the organisation and designs of the United Irishmen, and upon the connexion of the prisoner with those designs, and he stated that) “Lord Edward Fitzgerald was an active principal in the conspiracy, and encouraged many persons to become Colonels in the United Irish army, and in this encouragement the prisoner at the bar was conspicuously assisting, and, as will appear by his advice, Thomas Reynolds did take upon him the rank of Colonel of a regiment in the county of Kildare, organised for the express purposes of a rebellion, and aiding a French invasion. On the 19th of February last a provincial meeting was held at the house of the prisoner, which was adjourned to the 12th of March, to be held at the same place. At this meeting of the 19th of February, among other transactions, a resolution was entered into, strongly illustrative of the object of this conspiracy, and that no concession, no conciliation, which the Parliament of Ireland could hold forth, would have satisfied that treason which had veiled itself behind the pretexts of Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform. On the very night on which Lord Moira was endeavouring, in the House of Lords, to show that there were no traitors in Ireland, that the innocent were accused, and that the accusers were guilty, conspirators in the same capital were giving the lie to what this able, eloquent, and

popular character was urging in Parliament. The resolution was expressed in these words :

“ ‘ Resolved, That we will pay no attention to any measure which the Parliament of this kingdom may adopt, to divert the public mind from the grand object we have in view ; as nothing short of the entire and complete regeneration of our country can satisfy us.’ ”

(After some further observations upon the evidence to be produced he concluded thus) :—“ I do most anxiously wish that at a time when public safety is put to the wall, and the state is put on its defence, no portion of prejudice may mingle in the discharge of your duty, but that truth, and charity, and public virtue, may justify in the eyes of God and man the verdict which you shall give this day.”

Thomas Reynolds, Esq., was then called. The substance of his direct evidence is given in MacCan's trial. With reference to Mr. Bond, he stated that he was sworn in a United Irishmen by the prisoner, at his house in Bridge Street, in the beginning of the year 1797, in the presence of Mr. Richard Dillon, who lived in the same street ; that he afterwards frequently met the prisoner at different meetings of the Society, and had heard him relate plans whereby the United Irishmen might obtain possession of the city of Dublin, and he mentioned several other circumstances connecting the prisoner with different leading members of the Society, and with their plans ; that in the month of November he met Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and one Hugh Wilson, on the steps of the Four Courts ; that

Lord Edward spoke to him, and asked for an interview ; that at that interview, which took place at the house of the witness in Park Street, Lord Edward requested him to become a Colonel in the United Irish army, for the county of Kildare ; that he gave a very reluctant assent to become so ; that some days after he met Mr. Bond on the steps of his own house in Bridge Street, and told him that Lord Edward had applied to him to become a Colonel, and that he did not like it, although he wished very well to the United cause ; that Mr. Bond said that every man who wished well to the cause ought now to put himself forward, and advised him to accept the command of Colonel ; that he replied that since he, Mr. Bond, advised it, he certainly would. The remainder of his evidence was similar in substance to what he gave on the former trials, but he gave the following more detailed account of three interviews with Lord Edward Fitzgerald ; the first on the 11th of March, to dissuade him from attending the proposed meeting of the following day ; and afterwards on two occasions, subsequent to the arrests, when he was sent for by Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

“ On Sunday the 11th of March, about four o'clock in the afternoon, I called at Leinster House upon Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and saw him. I had in my hand a paper which contained directions from Counsellor Saurin to the lawyers' corps, desiring them, in case of riot, to repair to Smithfield. There were two papers, one withinside the other ; those who were going out of town, and whose arms would not be safe, were to leave

them with him ; and such as wanted ball-cartridge were to apply to him. And there was a line at the bottom desiring them to keep these orders secret. I picked these papers up in the course of the day. Lord Edward, upon reading these papers, was greatly agitated. He said he thought Government intended to arrest him ; he expressed a wish to get to France to hasten the invasion of the country, which he could do by his intimacy with Talleyrand Perigord, one of the French ministers. He said that he could not approve of a general invasion being made first, because, if any accident happened to prevent or overturn it, it would totally overthrow the business, and destroy the spirit of it both here and in France. He said the French had some fine fast-sailing^{*} frigates ; on board of them he would put as many Irish and English officers as he could procure, and men proper to drill soldiers, and a supply of arms and ammunition, and run them into some port of Ireland. He thought Wexford an unsuspected place, and one that would answer ; and, even if the frigates were destroyed, it would not be of any very material consequence ; but if they arrived, they might, with their friends, establish a rallying point until the rest should come. *He said also that, if an attack was made on England at the same time, it would effectually prevent the Government of that country from sending forces here.** Lord Edward after this conversation

* Arthur O'Connor and James Quigley were arrested at Margate, towards the end of February, 1798, endeavouring to pass into France

walked up and down the room in a very agitated manner. ‘No,’ said he, ‘it is impossible ; Government cannot be informed of it ; they never have been able to know where the provincial meet.’ Shortly after this the servant came and asked was he ready for dinner, and I came away. He wanted me to stay dinner, but I would not.

“ I saw him again after the arrests at Bond’s, in Aungier Street, at No. 23—I think, at the house of Dr. Kennedy ; I am neither sure as to the number or name, but to the best of my recollection that was the number and name. Mr. MacCan an apothecary in Grafton Street, came to me, and said Lord Edward wanted to see me ; and he brought me to him. It was about eight at night ; there were two or three gentlemen in the parlour drinking together. Lord Edward told me to come to him on the following night, and he would write something for me to take down to the country. He desired me to come to the same place at the same hour on the following night. This was the Wednesday after the arrests. I did go, and Lord Edward brought me up stairs to a bed-room, and gave me a paper which he desired me to give as his address to the county of Kildare ; and he said that he had some money in his hands as treasurer to the county of Kildare, and also some which belonged to the barony of Offalley, in the same county ; and he was to hand it

with an invitation from the English and Irish revolutionists to the French government to invade England and Ireland simultaneously.

over to me as the treasurer appointed in his place. After this he went down stairs; Lord Edward disguised himself as well as he could, and went away with a young gentleman, and I never saw him afterwards. Lady Edward Fitzgerald sent for me next day, which was Friday, and handed me thirteen pounds for the barony of Offalley, and thirty-two or thirty-three pounds for the county, which she said Lord Edward desired her to give me. It was afterwards principally laid out in defence of the prisoners tried at the ensuing assizes at Naas. I brought down Lord Edward's letter, and read it to a meeting of the County Committee held at Bell's on the Curragh of Kildare, and on the Tuesday after, at Athy, I read it to a meeting of my own captains, and at the desire of one of them, I burned it. The letter recommended that they should not think anything of what had happened at Bond's—it was nothing—a trifle : it desired them to fill up the vacancies occasioned by the arrests at Bond's as soon as possible ; and that they might rely upon his being in his place upon the day when they should be called upon to rise. There was a good deal more in it which I do not recollect.''

[Mr. Reynolds has been censured for seeing Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and attending these two meetings of United Irishmen, after he had resolved on abandoning their cause, and had given such information to Government as caused the arrests at Bond's on the 12th March. His interview with Lord Edward on the 11th March was for the purpose of prevailing upon that nobleman

to go out of the way. On such an occasion he could not be expected to have informed Lord Edward that Government were in possession of the place of meeting of the Provincial; and intended to arrest him on the following day, but he did give Lord Edward such important information relative to the preparations making, as, without betraying the step he had himself taken, or the intentions of Government in consequence of it, did induce Lord Edward to withdraw himself. His next interviews with Lord Edward were upon the invitation of that nobleman, who sent for him to his place of concealment. Mr. Reynolds could not refuse to wait upon Lord Edward without immediately raising suspicions against himself, and as his communications with Government were then at an end, and he supposed himself unknown to the administration, while his objects had been attained by the arrest of the Provincial Committee, no inconvenience was likely to follow his compliance with Lord Edward's desire to see him except to himself. Mr. Reynolds's enmity was not to the persons of the confederates, but to their designs. Their plans being defeated by their arrest or dispersion, Mr. Reynolds felt himself at full liberty to communicate with Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and aid in his escape. With that object in view he waited on Lord Edward, and although these circumstances could not appear in evidence on these trials, yet the facts are these. Mr. Reynolds found Lord Edward in great alarm, and without arms or money. Lord Edward asked Mr. Reynolds to conceal him at Kilkea. Mr. Reynolds pointed out to

Lord Edward the certainty that that place would be suspected and searched for him, as it afterwards was ; and Lord Edward renounced the idea, but stated to Mr. Reynolds his absolute want both of arms and of money. Mr. Reynolds undertook to procure both for him, and on the following night he brought him a brace of pistols and fifty guineas in gold, and received from him the instructions mentioned in his evidence. He carried a like sum of fifty guineas in gold to Lady Edward next day, and received from her the sum of forty-five pounds in bank notes,* as stated above. His attendance at the County Committee, of which he was a member, was also imperatively necessary to deliver Lord Edward's letter and his own resignation, and he was also compelled to meet his captains for the same purpose. Had he not attended these two meetings his own fate would have been sealed. At the meeting of captains no business whatever but reading and burning Lord Edward's letter was done, and at the county meeting the only business transacted was the election of a person in the place of Cummins, the delegate who had been arrested.]

The remainder of Mr. Reynolds's evidence in chief, and his account of his motives and communications with Mr. Cope, were precisely similar to what he stated on the former trials.

* At this period bank-notes were not easily paid away or changed. I need hardly remark how valuable gold was at such a time to a fugitive.

The following was his cross-examination by Mr. Curran, verbatim :—

You said you heard that it was given out that you had betrayed your friends?—I did.

Was that true?—Decidedly it was.

You felt that you had betrayed your king and your friends?—I did.

What was the nature of the oath you said was administered to you?—The common United Irishmen's Oath from a printed book, called the United Irishmen's test.

What was the first obligation?—To keep secret whatever should pass in that society; it contained an obligation of forming a junction between persons of all religious persuasions, and to obtain an equal representation of all the people of Ireland in Parliament.

Did that obligation bind you to be of any particular society?—It bound me to be of the Society of United Irishmen, and to their acts.

[Neither on this nor on any former occasion, did Mr. Reynolds make the slightest attempt to deny the error he had committed, in common with “hundreds upon hundreds,” in joining a society, bound together by an oath of secrecy, however plausible their ostensible objects appeared.]

I think I heard you say, some time or other, that many persons had taken that test or oath who had no idea of any thing to be done in consequence of it, save simply the advancement of that religious unity, and the

attainment of a reform in Parliament?—Upon my word I think so.

You said hundreds upon thousands?—No I did not make use of that expression.

What did you say?—I said hundreds upon hundreds. Do you believe that?—I do.

Pray, Mr. Reynolds, at what time did you get the 500 guineas?—I got them at different times.

When did you get the first? Was it before the taking up of the people on the 12th of March?—I drew for 300 guineas upon Mr. Cope, when, I will tell you in a minute: I cannot recollect the exact day, but it was about four or five days before the arrest: and I drew for 200 guineas some time after, when I was in the county of Kildare.

Had you been injured then by the military?—No: but I had determined to quit the kingdom, as soon as Mrs. Reynolds recovered, who was then lying-in, and I wanted to pay some debts before I went away.

Then you had not sustained losses by the military?—No.

And you got the money?—Yes; but I told Mr. Cope it was to reimburse my expenses or travelling charges.

[The receipt of this money which was not thought worthy of notice at all, by Mr. Curran, on MacCan's trial, and was only distantly alluded to in Byrne's case, was on this occasion made the subject of a grave charge.]

You had conversations with MacCan about the meeting?—I had.

He told you it was to be an assembly of the province?—He did.

That was what he said about it?—He said that.

You heard the meeting was taken up immediately after its assembling?—I heard that it was taken up about eleven o'clock on Monday.

Do you recollect what time it was you were made a convert of by Mr. Cope?—Yes I do.

What time?—The latter end of February.

Will you get as near the day as you can?—It was between the time of my return to town after the Kildare meeting on the 18th February, and the 1st March.

Mid way, do you think?—I should suppose so, but cannot say.

However, then you were completely convinced of the badness of their design; you did no more towards the advancement of them?—Towards the advancement of them?—I attended a meeting, as I told you; I was at the election of Reynolds to fill the vacancy of Cummins, who was arrested.

That was not to carry on the part?—It was to avoid the suspicion of having given information.

Did you ever swear any body an United Irishman after that?—No.

Did you ever advise any body to become an United Irishman after that?—No, not that I know of.

You must know the sincerity of your own conversion?—My conversion was so sincere that I wished the whole cause at an end; but I did not wish that any man should

be punished, and I was sorry to come forward; but I would do all the atonement in my power.

Do you recollect having sworn, or recommended any man to be an United Irishman since?—I do not recollect it.

Will you swear positively?—I do not recollect any such thing. If I did, let the man come forward, but I do not believe I did.

What would you think of yourself if a credible person swore it?—I would not think worse of myself because I do not say positively, but I do not believe it.

[If Mr. Curran had possessed any evidence to prove that Mr. Reynolds had done any thing whatever to forward the cause, after his communications with Mr. Cope, he would doubtless have produced it.]

You were married in 1794?—I was.

Your mother-in-law died in November?—No, my mother died in November; my mother-in-law died in April twelvemonth.

Your mother-in-law died?—She did.

She had a complaint in her bowels?—She had.

You administered medicine?—I did; tartar emetic.

She died shortly after?—She took it on Friday, and died on Sunday.

Did you ever give her any potion except that?—No, I did not.

She survived your prescription from Friday to Sunday?—Yes.

[An attempt was made in this case to prove that Mr. Reynolds administered this medicine late on Saturday

night, and that his mother-in-law died early on the following morning. *See infra.*]

Do you recollect, Mr. Reynolds, having been charged in your family with any thing touching that prescription?—*Since I have been brought up to Dublin*, I have heard that Major Witherington said I poisoned his mother with tartar emetic.

You heard that?—And many other ill-natured things too.

Very cruel; but the best men . . . ?—May err.

[Those who remember Major Witherington of the 9th Light Dragoons, and the manner in which he lived in his brother-in-law's, Mr. Reynolds's house, from 1802 to 1830, will be able to appreciate the correctness of the epithet applied to him by Mr. Curran, and the Christian spirit of forgiveness of the conclusion supplied by the witness.]

Did you hear anything of a pitched sheet for this poor old lady?—I did; a pitched sheet was one of the charges of the funeral bill, which bill I paid; she was a very large, corpulent woman; she was kept till her son came to town, and she could not be kept without the sheet.

Upon what day?—The fourth day after her death: she could not have been kept otherwise.

Your mother died in April?—No, she died in November.

Did you hear anything unkind stated of you with respect to your mother?—Never, until I heard them stated upon this table (by Mr. Curran).

She had an annuity from you?—Yes, and was so well paid, that she had received six months in advance when she died.

[These questions were meant to convey a horrible imputation. It is thus that counsel, when utterly reckless of all but what they think may serve their client, or their party, draw upon their own invention, and fritter away character by insinuations when every other course fails them.]

You know Mrs. Cahill?—Very well.

She lent you money?—Yes.

You gave her a bond?—Yes.

And a note?—Yes. I gave her a bond for 50*l.*, and a note for 25*l.*

She was an old blind woman?—She was not blind at that time.

She is now?—Yes.

It was a note payable on demand?—Yes. Elizabeth Cahill was an old woman who had passed a considerable part of her life in my mother's family. She lent us both money; she took my bond, and note payable on demand, saying she would draw occasionally for it; she took up 5*l.*, and I then gave her a note in place of the first, dating it back to the date of the first note.

This was in 1792?—I did not know where she lived for some time, but she came to live in Park-street* some short time after my marriage; Mrs. Reynolds went to see her; found her lying ill; brought her home;

* In the house of the witness.

and afterwards took her down to the country, leaving a girl to take care of her. After she recovered she wished to settle her affairs; she went to King-street nursery, and consulted with Mrs. Molloy and Miss Fitzgerald; she agreed to sink the money upon an annuity of 14*l*. for life, and a deed was drawn out by Mr. Hetherington; but she changed her mind, and there was no more about it. She gave me the bond, as she had often done before, to calculate the interest; there had been a double bond and warrant which lay in my desk, which lay open, as a precedent for the clerks; and in returning the bond, she got this double bond and warrant instead of her own, which is still among my papers, I believe. I regularly paid her the interest; and when she required payment of the principal, I settled with Mrs. Molloy, according to her desire, by giving part in money, and bills for the remainder, payable at two months. One is paid, another became due the first of this month. Mrs. Reynolds went with the money to pay it, and Mrs. Molloy would not see Mrs. Reynolds; a note was left with the priest for Mrs. Molloy, but no answer was given.

[For an account of Mrs. Molloy's extraordinary conduct with respect to this note, of her refusal to see Mrs. Reynolds when she came to pay it, that she might, with a safe conscience, swear that it was not paid when due, see her cross-examination in Byrne's case. Conduct like hers, is called in Ireland "whipping the devil in the dark." A re-perusal of her evidence in that case will sufficiently account for her getting out of the way

rather than appear on this trial. Had she been present, the learned counsel would hardly have ventured to call her, but her absence enabled him to put in an affidavit for delay, a measure more advantageous to the prisoner than any thing that could result from the presence of a perjured witness.]

Do you recollect what time the note was dated?—At the time of first getting the money.

Can you say it was not drawn back into your minority?—Decidedly it was not.

[Here the opportunity for contradiction was fairly tendered to Mr. Curran.]

Do you recollect what name was signed to the bond?—I do not.

Nor who were the witnesses?—I do not.

I think you say you got it back voluntarily from her?—I did. I will mention the circumstances: Mrs. Reynolds went to pay a visit to Mrs. Molloy: she told her Mrs. Cahill was ill in bed; Mrs. Reynolds called to see her, and she had money to give her some days, in part payment of one of the notes, not knowing where to find her. When she called on Mrs. Cahill, she found her almost in hysterics, in a kind of fit, from the treatment which she said she had received from Mrs. Bond, who said she would drag her to gaol, if she did not prosecute Mr. Reynolds, who, she said, had always treated her like an honourable man: she said, that Mrs. Bond offered a large sum of money for some papers; that she denied having them, and would give them to the right owner. She called to a young woman, Miss

Dwyer, to give them up: she hesitated, Mrs. Cahill grew angry, and asked what became of them; Miss Dwyer then gave them to Mrs. Cahill, who gave them to Mrs. Reynolds: when they were brought to me I burned them, they were of no use.

[Mrs. Cahill and Miss Dwyer were both in court, subpoenaed for the defence. If Mr. Reynolds's account of this transaction were untrue, Mr. Curran had the means of contradicting him at his disposal: if those means were not used, the Jury could come to but one conclusion.]

Did your aunt Fitzgerald write to you upon that subject charging you with a fraud?—No. She spoke of a delay of sending money to Mrs. Cahill, who was in want of it.

[Miss Fitzgerald might have contradicted the witness on this point.]

Do you not believe that these papers were got from Mrs. Cahill, by Mrs. Reynolds, after Mrs. Molloy had been served with notice to attend?—I do not know, but I have since heard it. I heard Mrs. Molloy say upon the table that she got notice, but I did not hear it before.

Mrs. Reynolds got these papers after that?—I believe Mrs. Reynolds knew nothing about them at the time she went to Mrs. Cahill, and would not trouble herself about them.

But was not the transaction of burning the papers after the notice to attend this trial, and after these papers had been obtained?—I say the papers were not ob-

tained; Mrs. Cahill forced these papers upon Mrs. Reynolds.

[The reader will recollect that Mrs. Cahill was in court, subpœnaed by the prisoner.]

Was not that after the service of the subpœna to attend this trial?—I cannot say; but I heard that Mrs. Bond said she would drag Mrs. Cahill to gaol about them.

It was after Mrs. Bond made use of that language?—Yes it was.

Mrs. Bond wanted to obtain them?—I do believe so because she offered a considerable sum of money.

She wanted them to impeach your credit?—She wanted to produce them to injure me; but if they were produced, they could not affect my credit; and if I thought they would have been of use I would not have destroyed them.

Is your credit unimpeachable?—My country is the best judge of that.

Did Mr. Cope charge you with endeavouring to cheat him of 1000*l*.?—No.

You bought Kilkea?—I paid a price for it.

You represented yourself as a solvent man; you got up a receipt?—Let me tell the whole transaction.

Answer the question, you may explain yourself afterwards.—I will not tell it partially, or I will leave it to Mr. Cope.

* Surely this charge was of as much consequence in Byrne's defence as here, or in MacCan's. Why was it made in the first case, abandoned in the second, and revived in the third?

Did you get a receipt from Mr. Cope of 1000*l.*?—I must inform the court of the whole fact, from beginning to end.

I ask you, did you get a receipt for 1000*l.*?—I did. Have you paid the money?—I conceived I had.

By the Court.—State the transaction.

[Mr. Curran seems to have quite lost his temper; the witness had hitherto baffled him by his straightforward answers; Mr. Curran became abusive; and the Court at last interfered to procure a patient hearing for the witness, and to give the counsel time to recover his sense of decorum.]

Mr. Cope had considerable dealings for many years with my father. At my father's death a balance remained due to Mr. Cope of near 1000*l.* Mr. Cope continued his dealings with my mother, and at her quitting business she owed him upwards of 4000*l.* I succeeded my mother in business, and she assigned to me a schedule of properties, obliging me to undertake the payment of a schedule of equal amount of debts, and she also assigned to me a reversionary lease of property which belonged to Sir Duke Gifford. The list of properties she made over to me, turned out some thousands less than she made them over for, and it was unproductive for a considerable time. Under these circumstances it was impossible for me to discharge immediately the debts that were due by her and my father, and I applied to Mr. Cope and settled for my father's 1000*l.* and my mother's 4000*l.* by giving him a mortgage of this reversionary lease, and my own bond as a

collateral security. Some time after this, I went to Mr. Cope and gave him 1000*l.* in cash in order that he might give up my bond ; not 1000*l.* out of the debt, but I gave him 1000*l.* that he should run the risk upon the reversionary lease, and discharge me from the bond. He accepted of it, and I gave the money : it was a contingent lease. I continued dealing some time, and at quitting business a balance of one thousand and some odd pounds remained due to Mr. Cope. I wished to lay a statement of my affairs at that time before some of my friends, and I applied to Mr. Cope for some vouchers. He gave them to me, and in some time after, came to me for a settlement of this 1000*l.*, and I mentioned that Mr. Cope, having received all the benefit of my father's and my mother's dealings, as well as mine, had no right to have my person bound for a debt which I had no share in accumulating, and I said that he should return that 1000*l.*, and that I had been wrong in binding my person for the debts of others. Mr. Cope refused to do this, and after some conversation he went away, and said he would come back in a week. He did ; I remained of the same opinion. In a day or two I left town on a visit to my uncle Fitzgerald in Kildare, and on the Sunday following I rode over to Athy where I received a letter from Valentine O'Connor, in which he stated that Mr. Cope had been with him, and that I had done wrong in refusing a settlement with Mr. Cope, and that I would do right to settle immediately. I rode off to Dublin without going back to my uncle's. I arrived at Mr.

Cope's; found him at dinner, and instantly settled the matter with him by returning the voucher for the 1000*l*.

Were you threatened with any prosecution by Mr. Cope for swindling him upon that transaction?—No, never.

[Mr. Cope could have contradicted Mr. Reynolds on this point, if he had made the slightest misrepresentation.]

I forget whether you told me: did Mrs. Fitzgerald write to you upon the subject of this bond (Elizabeth Cahill's bond)?—I said she did.

But she did not accuse you of a fraud?—Never.

Did not you write an answer admitting you had acted improperly?—No.

Can you take upon you to say what the answer was? I answered her; but what the particulars were I cannot say.

Do you recollect using such a phrase as that you alone were guilty, and not your wife?—I remember no such thing.

Would you swear there was no such thing in the letter?—I will not swear as to anything being in it: but if you ask me anything that I recollect I will tell it.

[Mr. Reynolds might have been contradicted as to this correspondence had he spoken untruly; his letter to his aunt might have been produced, or if lost or destroyed, his aunt might have been asked as to its contents.]

Can you just tot up the different oaths that you took on either side ? In a lump ?—I will give you the particulars.

No, you may mention the gross ?—No, I will mention the particulars. I took an oath of secrecy in the county committee ; and an oath to my captains as colonel. After this, I took an oath it has been said ;* I do not deny it, nor do I say I took it, I was so alarmed, but I could have taken one if desired, when the united Irishmen were designing to kill me ; I took an oath before a county Member, that I had not betrayed the meeting at *Bond's*. After this I took the oath of allegiance.

Had you ever taken an oath of allegiance before ?—I shall answer that question after the former. After this I took an oath before the privy council ; I took two at different times upon giving informations respecting these trials ; I have taken three since, one upon each of the trials ; and before I took any of them, I had taken the oath of allegiance.

By a Juror.—Were you a member of any corps of yeomanry ?—I was chosen adjutant of a corps but a few

* Mr. Reynolds is here alluding to a question put to him in cross-examination on Byrne's trial as to the taking of a voluntary oath, that he had not given up the united Irishmen, when he was stopped at Naas, on his way to Dublin by Mr. Taylor of Athy, and passed the night there ; he then said that he had no recollection of having taken such an oath, although he might have done so, and would if required, rather than be murdered. Mr. Reynolds then stated that a Mr. Flood, a member of the county committee, was in the same house with him. M'Donnel the innkeeper was also an united Irishman.

days before I was arrested ; the corps had no meeting, and therefore there was no opportunity of taking the oath of allegiance.

By Mr. Curran. Then the first oath was the oath of allegiance?—I say I took it before any of these, therefore it was the first ; I cannot say it was the first, but, it was before any of these.

By a Juror. On what occasion did you take the oath of allegiance?—I took it to qualify myself to hold a lease of landed property, as being a Roman Catholic.

[Thus ended Mr. Reynolds's cross-examination in this important case. If we may consider it as the bill of indictment against him, the crimes laid to his charge were of a very serious description. Mr. Reynolds distinctly denied each of them, and thereby gave Mr. Curran the opportunity of calling witnesses to prove them. If Mr. Curran failed in doing so, Mr. Reynolds was entitled to an acquittal, not only by the common rules of law, but by every rule of natural equity and justice. But if Mr. Curran declined calling witnesses in support of any of them, he can only be considered in the light of a voluntary and reckless slanderer, endeavouring to fritter away the reputation and character of the witness, by imputations which he knew to be unfounded. Whether Mr. Curran was without evidence to support these imputations, or whether he had evidence which in his judgment it was unsafe to call, Mr. Curran cannot escape from this conclusion.* Comparing, however, the cross-examination on this trial with

* These observations apply as well to the two former trials as to this.

those on the former occasions, the bill of indictment has been much curtailed. Some of the charges made against Mr. Reynolds have been abandoned, and among them, rather singularly, those charges which were made against him of "petty pilfering" in his boyhood, which he acknowledged to be true. From this circumstance we may estimate the value Mr. Curran put upon those charges; we already know what two juries, and four, out of the six judges in the commission, thought of them. On this occasion Mr. Reynolds is charged with having hastened the death of his mother-in-law, by administering tartar emetic to her. An insinuation of the same kind is made respecting his own mother. He is accused of attempting to defraud an old servant of 75%. and of an attempt to cheat Mr. Cope of 1000%. And he was asked if he had on any occasion since he gave information to Mr. Cope sworn in any one as an United Irishman, or advised any one to become one, or done anything whatever to advance the cause; all of which he denied and challenged contradiction.

His credit was also attempted to be impeached by his own admission that, after having taken the oath of allegiance, he took the United Irishmen's test or some other oath of secresy*, before he gave information against his associates; and that he took a voluntary oath that he had not betrayed them, after having done so, when under the immediate apprehension of death;

* It does not appear that the test was ever taken a second time except upon the admission of a member from another society with a certificate—See the Constitution in the Appendix No. 11,* and the evidence of Mr. Reynolds in Byrne's case at vol. i. page 450.

which he did not admit, although he did not deny that he might have done so, and forgotten it, from the apprehension he laboured under at the time.

He was also charged with having abandoned and betrayed his friends for the sake of the 500 guineas which he acknowledged having received. These were legitimate objects for the remarks of counsel and the consideration of the jury. As to the others he challenged contradiction on every one of them in their minutest details; and as he was not shaken upon any of these points in the slightest degree, by his cross-examination, I am entitled to claim an acquittal upon all those that were not subsequently established by evidence.]

Mr. Swan, the magistrate, and John Galloguely, a serjeant who accompanied Mr. Swan, were then called to prove the arrest of the prisoner at his own house on the 12th March; and several witnesses were called to prove the hand-writing of Hugh Wilson, Roger O'Connor, and Lord Edward Fitzgerald, to letters and papers found on the prisoner, and then William Cope, Esq., was called and examined as follows:—

Are you acquainted with Mr. Reynolds?—Yes.

You recollect the arrest at Mr. Bond's house?—Yes.

Had you a communication with Mr. Reynolds concerning that?—Yes; he communicated to me that there was to be a provincial meeting; told me the hour and the persons who were to be there; and I communicated it to Government; and the arrests took place in consequence.

A provincial meeting of what?—Of United Irishmen. He had before described to me the different kinds of meetings there were; that when a society amounted to twenty they divided into splits; and they then proceeded to a baronial, a provincial, and a directory.

Did he tell you their design?—He did: to have them armed in such a way as to overturn the Government, to establish a republic, and assist the French.

Do you know anything of a letter you delivered to Mr. Reynolds after the arrest?—I do.

Where did you get it?—I got it from Mr. Cooke (the Under Secretary of State).

Do you recollect the purport of it?—Yes.

In whose hand-writing was it?—Mr. Reynolds's. He was to have been at the meeting, and was afraid to be taken. I suggested to him, that it would be better for him not to go there, and he wrote a letter to Mr. Bond, acquainting him, that his wife, then great with child, was taken ill, and that he would not be able to attend so soon at the meeting, as the doctor had not arrived, but would be there at eleven, and desired him to tell M^r. Can, he would bring the money.

Why was the note delivered back to Mr. Reynolds?—*He claimed my honour that he was not to be brought forward*; and that he had wrote a letter which was found upon Mr. Bond. I went to Mr. Cooke, and claimed the letter from him, and every other paper in the hand-writing of Mr. Reynolds, *he being at that time determined not to come forward. No consideration would induce him; I tempted him in every way.* I gave him

the note, and what became of it I do not know ; he told me he burned it.

Upon all the communications you have had with him, have you found him consistent?—In every thing quite correct.

Cross-examined.

You advised him to write the note?—Yes I did.

[This was the whole of Mr. Cope's cross-examination at this time. Mr. Curran did not ask him a single question about the transaction relating to a sum of 1000*l.*, respecting which he had cross-examined Mr. Reynolds with so much violence and want of temper. Mr. Curran therefore admitted Mr. Reynolds's account of it to be correct : neither did he ask Mr. Cope whether he ever threatened Mr. Reynolds to prosecute him for swindling him in that transaction or in any other ; Mr. Reynolds therefore remained unshaken upon that point also.]

Some papers were then read, among them was an appendix to the constitution of the societies of United Irishmen in the form of an address from the county committee of Dublin city to their constituents, dated February 1st, 1798. With this evidence the case on the part of the prosecution closed.

Mr. Curran now rose to address the jury in defence of the prisoner.

In extracting these trials I have hitherto followed the text of Thomas Jones Howell, in his edition of the State Trials, because from the manner in which these

trials are reported in that publication, as well as from the notes and references respecting Mr. Reynolds, which accompany every mention of his name in the text, it is evident that the compiler was desirous of doing whatever lay in his power to foster and perpetuate any odium that might attach to Mr. Reynolds. I therefore felt that in adopting Mr. Howell's version of these trials I was certain to contend with the most unfavourable account of Mr. Reynolds's evidence, and the most favourable account of that of his opponents that could be met with. But I am now compelled to abandon Mr. Howell. The former speeches of counsel are confessedly given from anonymous authority, but they do not appear *to have been published about the time when they were said to have been delivered*; I have therefore followed them in this work, although their authenticity may perhaps be questionable. But I cannot do the same with respect to the speech attributed by Mr. Howell to Mr. Curran in defence of Mr. Bond. Howell has avowedly substituted an address furnished to him after the death of Mr. Curran, for the speech which was reported as his, in 1798, and twice printed and published as his speech on this occasion, during his lifetime, in a collection of his speeches which went through two editions. It matters nothing as to the guilt or innocence of Mr. Reynolds, which of the two speeches was actually addressed to the jury. Both were exceedingly abusive, and both were altogether unsupported by the evidence. But one comes down to us supported by the authority of twenty years' undisputed

publication during the lifetime of the supposed speaker ; while the other rests upon the assertion of Mr. Curran's son alone, thankfully adopted by Mr. Howell. What that son's authority is worth, I will examine at the conclusion of these trials, where I intend to give so much of his, and Mr. Howell's edition of Mr. Curran's speech as related to Mr. Reynolds. The following address is taken verbatim from the 2nd edition of Curran's speeches published in 1808. After some preliminary observations, in the course of which he met with interruption from some persons in the body of the Court, which was immediately repressed by the Bench, Mr. Curran proceeded thus :—

Gentlemen of the Jury, I shall lay before you the case of my client to controvert the evidence given on the part of the prosecution ; and shall offer some observations in point of law, under the judicial control of the Court as to matters of law. *It is my duty to state to you that we have evidence to prove to you that the witness on the part of the prosecution is undeserving of credit ; and to apprise you that it is your duty to examine into the moral character of the witness who has been produced.* And it is of the utmost concern you should do this, as your verdict is to decide on the life or death, the fame or dishonour of the prisoner at the bar.

. Mr. Reynolds, in his parol testimony, has sworn that he was made an United Irishman by the prisoner at the bar. Mr. Reynolds says he was sworn to what he considered to be the objects of that Society ; he stated them to you, but whether true or false is for

you to determine, by the credit you may give his testimony. This is the third time Mr. Reynolds has appeared in a court of justice to prosecute the prisoners. He says, the objects of the United Irishmen are to overturn the present Government, and to establish a republican form of government in its stead; and to comfort and abet the French on their invading this kingdom, should such an event take place. You have heard his testimony: let me ask you, Do you think him incapable of being a villain? Do you think him to be a villain? You observed with what kind of pride he gave his testimony; do you believe his evidence, by the solemn oath you have taken; or do you believe it was a blasted perjury? Can you credit any man of a blasted character? It has been the misfortune of many former jurors to have given their verdicts founded upon the evidence of a perjured witness; and on their death-beds they have repented of their credulity, in convicting a man upon false testimony. The history of former ages is replete with such instances, as may be seen in the State Trials.* In the case of Lord Kimbolton and Titus Oates, the then jurors convicted that nobleman, but, some time after his death, the jurors discovered that they had given implicit credit to a witness unworthy of it; and the lawyer of those days might have said, "I thank God, they have done the deed." Does not the history of human infirmity give many instances of this kind? Gentlemen, let me bring you more immediately to the case before you: had we no evidence against Reynolds but his own solitary evidence, from the whole

of his evidence you cannot establish the guilt of the prisoner at the bar. Take the whole of his evidence into your consideration; it may appear that he is unworthy of credit. He told you he got information from M'Can on the Sunday morning that the meeting was to be held on Monday morning at ten o'clock. Reynolds goes immediately to Mr. Cope and gives him that information. On Sunday afternoon he goes to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and shows him the orders issued by Captain Saurin to the Lawyers' corps; "then," said Lord Edward, "I fear Government intend to arrest me; I will go to France, and hasten them to invade this country. *Government has no information of the meeting of the provincial delegates at Bond's?*" "No, no," says Reynolds, "*that is impossible.*" [The evidence is here misquoted by Mr. Curran; Mr. Reynolds made no reply to Lord Edward, whose observation is also mis-stated.] Reynolds wrote to Bond; he could not attend the meeting as his wife was ill; Reynolds did not go to the meeting. Bond was arrested on the Monday morning. On the Monday evening,* at eight at night, Reynolds goes to Lord Edward in Aungier-street; met him; and goes again to him next night, and Lord Edward conversed with Reynolds about his (Lord Edward's) going to France. [This is not in the evidence.] Reynolds then went to Kildare; *he gave the most solemn assurances to the delegates at a meeting*

* This is incorrect: it was on Wednesday and Thursday evenings that my father saw Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and not on Monday and Tuesday.
Note by the Editor.

there that he never gave information of the meeting at Bond's. [Not in the evidence.] Now see how many oaths Reynolds has taken: he admits he took two of the oaths of the obligations to the Society of United Irishmen. He told you Lord Edward advised him to accept of being a colonel of the Kildare United Irishmen's Army; and yet he says he afterwards went to Bond's, and Bond advised Reynolds to be a colonel. [Mr. Reynolds's statement was, that, having given a reluctant assent to Lord Edward's request, he afterwards consulted Mr. Bond upon it, telling him that he did not like it; that Mr. Bond advised him to comply with Lord Edward's wish, and that Mr. Bond's advice confirmed him in his determination.] It appeared in evidence that Reynolds was a treasurer; he took two more oaths, one as colonel and one as treasurer. [This is another misrepresentation of the evidence. Mr. Reynolds stated that he took an oath of secrecy in the county meeting, when he sat as treasurer for the Baronial Committee, and an oath at a meeting of his captains as their colonel. Mr. Curran has only doubled each of these oaths.] He took the oath of allegiance also; and he took an oath to the truth of his testimony at the two former trials and at this. On which do you give him credit? Gentlemen, in order to narrow the question under your consideration, as to what Reynolds said relative to Lord Edward's conversation, it is totally out of this case; it can have no weight at all on the trial of Mr. Bond for high treason, or the finding of your verdict. How, or

in what manner, is the prisoner at the bar to be affected by it? I submit to your Lordship, that the declaration of Lord Edward to Reynolds when Bond was not present is not attachable to the prisoner. Mr. Reynolds has given you a long account of a conversation he had with Mr. Cope, relative to the proceedings of the Society of United Irishmen; and Mr. Cope said, if such a man could be found, as described by Mr. Reynolds, who would come forward and give information, he would deserve the epithet of saviour of his country. Thus, by Reynolds's evidence, it would seem, that Mr. Cope was the little pony of repentance, to drive away the gigantic crimes of the Colossus Reynolds.* But remember, said Mr. Reynolds, though I give information, I wont sacrifice my morality; I wont come forward to prosecute any United Irishman. No, no; like a bashful girl higgling about the price of her virginity,† I am determined, says Reynolds, to preserve my character; I will give the communications, but do not think I will descend to be an informer; I will acquaint you of every thing against the United Irishmen, but I must preserve my credit. I tell you the design of the United Irishmen is to overthrow the constitution. I will lead you to the threshold of discovery, but I wont name any price for my reward; pray dont mention it at all. Says Mr. Cope, a man would deserve a thousand or fifteen

* A favourite figure of speech with Mr. Curran. See his address to the jury in Byrne's case.

† This also was a favourite type of Mr. Curran's. It will be found in many of his reported speeches in defence of United Irishmen; and again in this speech.

hundred a-year, and a seat in Parliament, or anything, if he could give the information you mention. No such thing is required, no such thing, says Reynolds, you mistake me; I will have nothing in the world but merely a compensation for losses; do you think I could take a bribe? I ask only of you to give me leave to draw a bit of a note on you for five hundred guineas, only by way of indemnity for losses I have sustained or am liable to sustain. Gentlemen of the jury, don't you see the distinction between a bribe and a gratification? What says Father Foigard? Consider my conscience! do you think I would take a bribe? It would grieve my conscience if I was to take a bribe! To be a member of *Parliament*, and declare for the ayes or the noes! I will accept no bribe; I will only take a little indemnity for claret that may be spilt, for a little furniture that may be destroyed, for defraying the expenses of some pleasurable jaunts when out of this country; for if I become a public informer against the United Irishmen, and should continue here for some time, I may chance to be killed by some of them; for I have sworn to be true to them; and I also took the oath of allegiance to be true to my own Sovereign. I have taken all sorts of oaths. If I frequent the company of those that are loyal to the King, they will despise the man who broke his oath of allegiance; and between the loyalist and the United Irishmen I may chance to be killed. As I am in the habit of living in the world, says Mr. Reynolds to Mr. Cope, you will give me leave to draw a bit of paper on you, only for three hundred guineas at

present: it will operate like a bandage to a sore leg; though it won't cure the sore, or the rottenness of the bone, it may hide it from public view. I will, says Reynolds, be newly baptized for a draft of three hundred guineas, and become a public informer, and for a further bit of paper, only for another two hundred guineas; yet I trust you will excuse me, I will not positively take any more. He might, I imagine, be compared to a bashful girl, and say,—What! shall the brutal arms of man attack a country maid, and she not stipulate for full wages? when her gown shortens, and her apron bursts asunder, and she sinks to the view of public prostitution? Perhaps he practised upon her virtue, when she thought he was gaining the affections of that innocent dupe in private? Do you think that Reynolds would touch a bribe and become an informer? No, no; he said he would be no informer. But did he not consent to do a little business in private; and did he not get money for it? Perhaps he said, I thought to be no villain; I would not have the world think me a villain; yet, as I can confide in myself, why should I mind what the world says of me, though it should call me a villain? But is it not a real fact? Even though I should become the talk of all the porter-houses, though I should become the talk of all the tea-tables, yet perjury is not brought home to me. No! no human being has knowledge of what is rankling within! Has it not been said I was an honest man to come upon the public board as a public informer? They did call me an honest man, and a worthy man, a respectable in-

former, and thus my character is at bay. The world indeed heard of the progress of these crimes, and that I was unfortunately a United Irishman. He told you there was a provincial meeting of delegates, *but he has not ventured to tell you where the provincial committee met* (the evidence is here again misquoted, as indeed it is throughout the whole of this address); he has simply said there was a provincial committee. It was a question of great concern. I have doubts about it: it is not stated to me what these important consultations were about. From M'Can he heard that *a baronial meeting** was to be held at Bond's on the 12th March, and that there was material business to transact, and he desired Reynolds to attend; that is all that Reynolds heard from M'Can; and M'Can is now no more, and this part of the case is in doubt and obscurity. For my part I am not satisfied that anything criminal did pass at the meeting at Bond's on the 12th March; no man can say so. It (the fact that it was a provincial meeting) rests upon the evidence of the informer, and no other witness. Mr. Bond probably did not know the motive why he gave the use of the room, for there was not one word of conversation between Bond and Reynolds. If you believe Reynolds, the meeting was for the worst of purposes; but was it with the knowledge of Bond? Bond said to Reynolds, "I can give you no information; go to M'Can, he can inform you." Upon the evidence, therefore, of Reynolds rests this man's life; for the written evidence

* Not so, a provincial meeting.

found in the room cannot, in my opinion, affect Bond ; he was not in the room. Bond has been resident in this city twenty years. In your walks of life, Gentlemen of the jury, you never heard anything to his prejudice before this charge.

[Mr. Curran then proceeds at some length to caution the jury against “doing little more than record the opinions given to them by the judges,” or suffering themselves to be “swayed by the unsupported evidence of an informer.” As the object of this inquiry is not to ascertain the guilt of Bond, of which no one in the present day pretends to doubt; but to inquire into the charges brought against Mr. Reynolds’s moral character and motives, I have omitted these observations with much more which did not appear to bear upon my object. The speech itself will be found at length in the 2nd edition of Curran’s Speeches, published in 1808, when that gentleman was Master of the Rolls, in Ireland. Mr. Curran proceeded thus.]

* One witness has been examined upon this trial who I think does not deserve credit; but it is you, who are the sole judges, whom you will give credit to; but though you know the witness has given evidence on two former trials, and though the then juries did give credit to his testimony, yet you are not to determine your verdict on the faith or precedent of any former juries, but you are to be solely guided by your own consciences, and you will observe we have had here two more witnesses to impeach the character of Mr. Reynolds, that were not produced on the former trials;

[why were they not produced on the former trials, the ground for producing them was laid in Mr. Reynolds's cross-examination? If their evidence was considered of value to impeach the credibility of the witness in Bond's case, it was surely of equal value in M'Can's and in Byrne's case. Were these men sacrificed to endeavour to save Mr. Bond? or was the evidence thought of no value?] and you will no doubt throw out of your minds whatever did not come before you this day in evidence on the part of the prosecution;* and consider that which will come before you on the part of the prisoner's defence. You will find your verdict, flowing from conscious integrity, and from the feelings of honourable minds, notwithstanding the evidence of the witness Mr. Reynolds, who has been examined upon the table, and whose testimony I need not repeat to you. Perhaps you may be inclined to think he is a perjured witness; perhaps you will not believe the story he has told you of the prisoner at the bar, and of his own turpitude. You will do well to consider it was through a perjured witness that a Russell and a Sidney were convicted in the reign of James the Second *I said I rose to tell you what evidence we had to produce on behalf of my client, the prisoner at the bar; we shall lay evidence before you from which you can infer, that the witness produced this day was a perjured man; we have only to show you, as honest men, that the witness is not deserving of credit upon his*

* And Mr. Curran should have added, on the part of the defence.

oath ; we have nothing more to offer on behalf of my client, the prisoner at the bar. It is your province to deliberate in your consciences upon the evidence you have heard, and whether you will believe the witness you have heard on his oath or not. Let me ask you, will you, upon the evidence you have heard, take away the life of the prisoner at the bar ; take him from his wife, and little children for ever ? I told you I was to state to you the evidence which we had to bring forward on behalf of my unfortunate client ; I tell you it is to discredit the testimony of Mr. Reynolds. When you have heard our evidence to this point, I cannot suppose you will give your verdict to doom to death the unhappy and unfortunate prisoner at the bar, and entail infamy on his posterity I feel myself impressed with the idea in my breast, that you will give your verdict of acquittal of the prisoner at the bar ; and that by your verdict you will declare, on your oaths, that you do not believe one syllable that Mr. Reynolds has told you. Let me entreat you to put in one scale, the base, the attainted, the unfounded, the perjured witness ; and in the opposite scale let me advise you to put the testimony of the respectable witnesses produced against Mr. Reynolds, and the witnesses to the prisoner's hitherto unimpeached character ; (no witnesses to character were called) and you will hold the balance with justice, tempered with mercy, as your consciences in future will approve. You are bound by your oaths, to find a true verdict according to the evidence ; and you do not deserve the station

of jurors, the constitution has placed you in, if you do not discharge the trust the constitution has vested in you, to give your verdict freely, and indifferently, according to your conscience."*

Lord Kenyon once observed, that "Counsel are frequently induced, and they are justified, in taking the most favourable view of their client's case; and it is not unfair to pass over any piece of evidence they find difficulty to deal with, provided they cite fairly and correctly those parts of the evidence they comment upon." The preceding speech was, to say the least of it, sufficiently abusive. Mr. Curran did not neglect the former part of Lord Kenyon's rule for the guidance of counsel. If we may form any opinion from Mr. Curran's omis-

* Mr. Curran was not interrupted by the Bench in his career of scurrility lest it should be said that the defence was impeded, but at the bar of the House of Lords, when he was launching out in his usual strain of unfounded abuse, the Lord Chancellor stopped him, saying, "Mr. Curran, we sit here to hear law, arguments, and facts, and not to listen to your scandalous abuse of the witness." "Then, my Lord," said Curran, "I have nothing more to say." He put his brief into his bag, and left the bar without uttering another word. In the House of Commons he also met with rebukes from many of the members; among others, Sir J. de Blaquiére said, "he strongly reprobated the abuse in which the counsel had indulged themselves against Mr. Reynolds. Much license in the language of counsel might be allowed in courts of justice, but it became the duty of Parliament to repress that license when it came to be exercised before it. Mr. Reynolds was the saviour of his country, and deserved to be clasped within its warmest and most honourable embraces, instead of being held out as an object to be rejected, and loathed by society; he had approved himself a man of honour and of conscience, and to him was owing that they were then sitting in that house, and were in possession of their lives and properties." (See the Irish Parliamentary Debates of Monday, August 20, 1798.)—Note of the Editor.

sions, he must have found a great deal of the evidence very difficult to deal with. But he utterly disregarded the latter part of the rule; every part of the evidence upon which he did venture to comment was cited, as I have shown, not only unfairly, but, to use a mild term, most incorrectly.

This most vituperative speech was not however considered sufficiently abusive of Mr. Reynolds, by the friends of the United Irishmen. Twenty years afterwards another speech, still more regardless of the evidence, and still more grossly abusive of the witness, was for the first time attempted to be palmed upon the world as the spontaneous effusion of Mr. Curran's eloquence and indignation on this occasion. Extracts from it have since been cited as brilliant instances of that species of eloquence peculiar to Mr. Curran. It is but justice to that gentleman to state that, during his lifetime, no attempt was made to repudiate the above speech, or to substitute a closet composition for it. It would occupy too much space, and keep the reader too long from the conclusion of this trial to enter further upon this subject here; but I will give a copy of the modern composition, with the account given of it by its discoverer, among other curious explanatory matter, at the conclusion of these trials.

It will have been noticed that Mr. Curran declared that he had no other defence to offer on behalf of his client, than what might arise from discrediting Mr. Reynolds; and no witnesses to call but to Mr. Rey-

nolds's character *and to the character of Mr. Bond.* The first witness called was Mr. Valentine O'Connor: he was a relative of Mr. Reynolds, and had formerly made proposals to Mrs. Reynolds, the witness's mother, for an union between his niece and the witness; which proposals had been rejected by Mrs. Reynolds, with some observations, which being repeated, had given offence.

Where do you live?—In Dominick-street, in the city of Dublin.

You are in trade in this city?—I am.

Do you know a gentleman of the name of Thomas Reynolds?—I do.

The Thomas Reynolds who gave evidence here to-day?—I did not see him: (Mr. Reynolds was pointed out), that is the gentleman.

Does he deserve credit giving evidence upon his oath in a court of justice?—I can only speak for myself: I would not give credit to his oath. From his general character, and from several things I know of him, I would not believe him upon his oath.

Cross-examined.

You form part of your opinion from a transaction between Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Cope?—I do.

You wrote a letter upon that subject to Mr. Reynolds?—I did, at the request of Mr. Cope, and Mrs. Reynolds his mother.

Did not Mr. Cope know of the transaction as fully

as you did?—NO DOUBT; HE OUGHT TO KNOW IT BETTER. [For which reason Mr. Curran would not examine Mr. Cope on the subject.]

How long is it since you first knew or heard of Mr. Oliver Bond?—I do not know; I have had little communication with him.

Did you ever hear he was a United Irishman?—I might have heard it; I have had little communication with him I believe I have heard that he was a United Irishman.

When were you first summoned to attend this trial—I have been summoned for three trials, and attended.

And you were not thought worthy to be examined?—I do not know.

Do you know Mr. Malachi O'Connor?—Yes, my brother, and in trade with me.

Do you know another of that name?—I do, a nephew of my brother and of mine.

Where is he?—In Liverpool or London.

When was he in Dublin?—I do not know; he has not been here a long time.

Who applied to you first to be examined?—I came here once to be examined upon oath, and I was asked what I could say. I would not mention until I was sworn.

Did not Mrs. Bond go to you?—She did.

Did not she ask you what you would swear?—She surprised me at first; she came to me one Sunday morning; I saw her in the parlour.

You have attended courts of justice?—Very seldom.

You were very desirous to assist her?—She asked me about the transaction, and I was surprised at it, because *I thought it was buried between me and Mr. Cope, and Mr. Reynolds's mother. I mentioned it to Mr. Cope, and he told me how it came to be public; that it was told to a Mr. Strange (Mrs. Reynolds's brother-in-law, and the witness Reynolds's uncle). I had great uneasiness in coming here at all.*

[And well he might have; he was of opinion that Mr. Reynolds, to whom he was once desirous of uniting his brother's daughter, was not to be believed on his oath, principally, on account of the transaction between Mr. Cope and Mr. Reynolds; a transaction of which he admitted that he had but an imperfect knowledge. And he swore that he had not communicated his intended evidence until he was sworn, and immediately afterwards admitted that Mrs. Bond had surprised him out of it some time before. Indeed, it was not likely that he would have been subpœnaed, if he had not previously communicated his evidence.]

ANN FITZGERALD *sworn.*

Do you know Thomas Reynolds?—I do.

Is he your relation?—His mother was my sister.

[This lady, like Mrs. Molloy, was so angry that she would not acknowledge the witness's relationship to her in any, but indirect terms.]

Have you known him long?—From his infancy.

Do you know his character as well as his person?—I had every opportunity of knowing it.

[The reader will recollect that this lady had been

thirteen years a professed nun, and that Mr. Reynolds her nephew was at the time of these trials only twenty-seven.]

From your knowledge of his character, do you think he ought to be believed upon his oath in a court of justice?—I do not.

Cross-examined.

What is your situation in life?—I belong to a religious community.

Am I to understand that you have taken the veil and are a nun?—I am.

May I ask you if you have been long in that situation; from your early youth; or after you had tried the troubles and pleasures of the world?—It was at the usual period.

From a very early period?—Not a very early period; but *I have been thirteen years there.*

That is a society of religious persons, retiring from the world, and knowing little of it?—*We are not so secluded in this kingdom.**

Notwithstanding your retirement, you know some-

* See her evidence in Byrne's case for the following questions and answers.

How long have you lived in the nunnery?—Thirteen years.

You have not mixed in the world during that time?—No, Sir.

Mr. Reynolds was about fourteen years old when this lady took the veil; he was sent to school at Dr. Crawford's at Chiswick near London, at the early age of 8 years: from thence he was removed to the Jesuits' College at Liege, where he remained until he was nearly seventeen. What then could have been this lady's opportunities of appreciating his character?

thing of the business of the world. Do you understand the nature of perjury?—I think I do.

Be so good as to explain it.—Attesting contrary to one's belief or knowledge.

You have sworn that Mr. Reynolds is not to be believed upon his oath. You form charitable opinions of all mankind; am I right?—I believe you may judge.

Then communicate any of the perjuries he has been guilty of.—I do not know as to his oath; but as to his being a man of truth.

You do not know of any perjury committed by him?—Not upon his oath.

Then your idea of perjury is falsifying not upon oath?—I say he is not a man of truth; I have heard him accused.

You have had frequent intercourse with him?—Until of late he had frequent intercourse with me.

What do you call late?—Ten or eleven months.

Have you not seen him since?—Yes, I have seen him since.

Do you know his wife?—I do.

Are you in the habit of receiving visits from her?—I have seen her occasionally.

You have not admitted her upon cordial intercourse?—She was on the footing that was reasonable; good-natured, and neighbourly; and that sort of footing.

And why do you not say cordial intercourse?—I am not in the habit of giving invitations,—I am not in the way for it.

Do you know Mr. Taylor of Athy?—I do.

Did you see him lately?—I did.

Upon what occasion?—He came to town with an express.

Was it since the arrests at Bond's?—I believe it was, but I am not positive.

Upon your oath, did you not tell Mr. Taylor that Mr. Reynolds was an infamous man, for betraying the cause of the United Irishmen?—No.

Did you not make some observation upon his doing so?—Mr. Taylor called on me about some business in the line of his profession: he is an attorney: he told me he came with an express to Dublin, to seek to have the town of Athy prevented from being set on fire, and he talked of the disturbed state of the country, and of the soldiers being sent on free quarters; *and I asked, was it said in the county of Kildare, as in Dublin, that Reynolds was an informer?* I do not recollect any further conversation.

Did you make any farther observation upon his being an informer?—I do not recollect!

Did you upon any other occasion?—I do not recollect!

Did you to Mrs. Reynolds?—I do not recollect!

Pray endeavour to recollect.—She asked me, what I could say of her husband's character? I answered, I could say nothing of him that is not infamous.

Mention the rest of the conversation.—She mentioned something before that he was an informer, and she took up my words; I am not equal to the task, nor in a state to go through it.

You must endeavour to recollect the conversation,

since you have come here three times to falsify your nephew's character.—I cannot recollect exactly the rest.

Be so good as to recollect what you mentioned to Mrs. Reynolds.—I fear it is impossible.

Did you make any observation upon Mr. Reynolds, when you heard he was an informer?—Upon my entering the room I saw her sitting with Mrs. Molloy.

Did you pronounce any sentence upon Mr. Reynolds for being an informer?—I believe I might have said Upon my entering the room, I found her sitting in the room; I saw her agitated and in tears. Mrs. Molloy said that Mrs. Reynolds had been telling her Tom Reynolds is an avowed informer. I expressed surprise. "Is it possible" or some such expression; she repeated and said, "Sure you know it; were you not served with a summons?"

Mention your observation.—I cannot go through, I am so overpowered.

Take your time, Madam.—Mrs. Reynolds asked me, "Do you not know it? Were you not served with a summons?" Mrs. Molloy replied to her, that she would not believe injurious reports without confirmation.

Then what did you say?—She asked me what I had to say to his character, respecting the transaction as to the bond? Upon which I replied, "Good God! I know nothing of him but what is infamous!"

Did you make any observation upon his being an informer?—I cannot come to that; I am recollecting the conversation.

Mention the observation you made, relative to his being an informer.—I cannot recollect !

Did you make any observation or not ?—*I cannot say positively whether I did or not.*

Then why recollect exactly what Mrs. Molloy said, and what Mrs. Reynolds said, and not recollect what you said yourself upon so serious a subject as speaking of your nephew to his wife ?—I cannot recollect ; it is not upon my memory !

Since you cannot recall what you said, you may recall your thoughts ; whether did you think ill of him for it ?—I cannot tell what my reflections were.

What do you think of him now ; well or ill ?—I declare I am not equal to answer these puzzling questions.

Have you no opinion of him ?—I have this opinion ; that acting with duplicity and deceit, was improper, infamous and bad upon any occasion.

Do you conceive his giving information was acting with deceit and duplicity ?—I am not a judge ; I think his own conscience should be his director.

Do you swear you have no opinion upon it ?—I do not swear that ; I say that any act done with deceit or duplicity I consider very bad and improper.

Do you consider this as done with deceit or duplicity ?—I am not a judge.

Did you ever apply the name of informer to him in conversation with Mrs. Molloy or any other ?—Never, to my recollection.

Have you a brother ?—I have, and the best of brothers, and the best and worthiest of men.

He has been so unfortunate to be under a charge of treason?—I do not know; I have not heard the charge made against him.

Is he at large or in custody?—It is a question I cannot decide.

Which do you believe?—It is a point I doubt.

Did you not swear the last time you were here, that you did believe he was in prison under a charge of public crime?—No, I did not say public crime; I was asked, had I a brother in confinement? I said, I had.

(See her evidence in Byrne's case: she was asked if her brother, Captain Fitzgerald, was in "custody upon a charge of treason?" She replied, "I hear so.")

Then why not give the same answer now?—I am not certain as to his situation.

Why were you more certain at that time than now? I did not hear at that time he was out, but since I heard he was to get out; he may be out to-night or to-morrow.

(His liberation, the safety of Mr. Reynolds's grandfather, who was involved, and personal protection, were the only favours stipulated for by Mr. Reynolds.)

Do you know where Mrs. Molloy is?—I do not.

She has eloped from the convent?—I do not know how you may term it, she is not there.

Is it her place of residence?—She lives there.

How long is it since she went away?—On Saturday morning. (Byrne's case concluded on that morning.)

By the Court.

Mrs. Molloy said, Mrs. Reynolds told her Tom

Reynolds was an avowed informer; you expressed surprise at that?—Yes.

Were you really surprised?—Yes, there is something in the name that I always considered degrading and improper.

You said you knew nothing of him that was not infamous; have you any particular cause for using that expression? Do you mean to say that he is capable of taking a false oath in a Court of Justice?—I meant it from my knowledge of his character.

Do you mean to say he would take a false oath?—I say, from my general idea of his character, that his oath is not to be credited.

Is it from the circumstance of his being an informer that you supposed him capable of taking a false oath?—No.

From what, then?—My general idea of his character.

[This woman, who was called to speak to the character of her nephew, swore that she had known him from his infancy, and that he was not to be believed upon his oath. In her cross examination she admitted that she had been thirteen years a professed nun. She therefore took the veil when her nephew was fourteen years of age. She was asked, again and again, if she knew anything against him, except his having given information against the United Irishmen. She again and again declined to speak to any particular act of misconduct. Even the Court could obtain no direct answer from her to that question. Mr. Reynolds stated that Mr. Taylor, whom he had met at Naas, when on

his way to Dublin, told him that his aunt Fitzgerald had said, that he (Mr. Reynolds) had informed against the United Irishmen, and that she made that communication before Mr. Reynolds had been taken into custody at Athy. She confirmed Mr. Reynolds upon this point, but her memory suddenly became defective. She could, after much questioning, recollect the minutiae of a conversation between Mrs. Molloy and Mrs. Reynolds, but no effort of memory could recall what she herself had said. The opinion which she said that she held of Mr. Reynolds's character evidently arose from his conduct to the United Irishmen, but she appeared to think that she ought to endeavour to assign some other reason for it, and hence arose all her fencing with the questions. She had been in court during both the former trials, and evidently on this occasion endeavoured to shape her evidence to produce a particular impression.]

HENRY WITHERINGTON *examined.*

Is your mother dead?—She died last April twelve-month.

What was the cause of her death?—I imagine it was from a dose of medicine administered by Mr. Reynolds.

Was there any medicine administered to her?—Yes.

When was it?—On Saturday night.

Were you in the house?—Yes.

Mr. Reynolds administered the dose to her on Saturday evening?—Yes.

When did she die?—Early on Sunday morning.

*When do you say the medicine was administered?—
Late on Saturday night.*

Do you recollect the circumstance of her body being lapped up in a pitched sheet?—I do.

Upon what day was that?—Upon Monday evening.

What occasioned the necessity of wrapping the body?—Mr. Reynolds said it was necessary; I know no other cause.

What was the opinion of the family as to the immediate cause of her death?

By the Court.—This witness cannot give in evidence the opinion of others, when those persons can be produced.

You are acquainted with the character of Mr. Reynolds?—I am.

From your knowledge of his character, do you think him deserving of credit upon his oath in a Court of Justice?—I do not.

[This witness was a boy of seventeen: when his mother died he was so mere a child in habits that he still slept in her room.* The medical man who attended her was subpoenaed and in Court, but Mr. Curran preferred calling this lad to give his opinion of the cause of the lady's death, and his judgment of the character of Mr. Reynolds. Let it not be forgotten that he has sworn positively, that "Mr. Reynolds administered a dose of medicine to his mother late on Saturday

* See Mr. Reynolds's evidence in Byrne's case, at vol. 1, page 460, when he informed Mr. Bushe that Mrs. Witherington's husband and son were living with her when she died, but that he was not.

night, he, the witness, being in the house, and that his mother died early on the following morning, as this witness believed, from the dose of medicine so administered.]

Cross-examined.

What age were you when your mother died?—Between sixteen and seventeen.

Do you recollect what part of the house you slept in?—That night I remained in her room; I had slept in the barrack. (He was not at this time in the army; he occasionally, but very rarely, passed the night in his brother's room at the barracks.)

Was, or was not, Mr. Reynolds abroad the evening before her death?—He was.

Where?—I believe at the theatre, or at Astley's.

What time did he go out?—Early in the evening.

What time did he return?—About twelve.

He was not let into her room?—No, he came to the door and inquired for her, but was not let into the room.

Then, Sir, what time did he give her the medicine?—In the day-time he gave it to her, and she took it at night.

Was he present?—No.

You were?—I was.

Were you present when he gave it to her?—No, but she told me.

And then you came here to confront your brother-in-law as to the fact of giving that medicine late on Satur-

day evening?—I did not know what questions I should be asked.

He swore he gave it her on Friday, and you say that it was on Saturday night, though he was from home?—He went from home about six in the evening.

You said he gave it late at night?—I understood it was administered to her, and that was the question I answered. (He said above, that he himself was present when the medicine was administered.)

When did she tell you it was given to her?—That day.

You have had some little difference with your sister and brother?—Never with my sister.

But with your brother-in-law?—I have not spoken to him for a long time.

What servants were in the house that night?—A man and a woman servant.

Are they alive?—As to the man I do not know, I saw the woman the other day.

Did any physician attend her?—She was attended by Mr. Fitzgerald.

Is he alive?—I do not know. I have not seen him this some time. (He was in Court.)

Is he not a better judge of her indisposition than you?—I know nothing of his judgment.

Did he attend her that evening?—No, but he saw her in the morning.

She had not been well for some time?—She had not; she complained of her stomach for a month.

Had she not recourse to strong liquors to ease the pain of it?—I do not know.

[It is quite evident that nearly every word this poor lad swore was false, except the fact that Mr. Reynolds had supplied the deceased lady with some tartar emetic. That medicine was taken to her by Mr. Reynolds, in consequence of directions given by her medical attendant, Mr. Fitzgerald, on Friday morning : it was administered to her by her own attendants, on Friday night : her medical attendant, Mr. Fitzgerald, visited her on Saturday, as did also her daughter, Mrs. Reynolds ; but Mr. Reynolds never saw her alive after Friday. She was so well on Saturday evening that Mr. and Mrs. Reynolds went to the Theatre : on their return at midnight, Mr. Reynolds, who lived in the adjoining house, went by his wife's desire to enquire after her : he knocked at her bed-room door, was not admitted, but was told that she was well. Henry Witherington, who slept in his mother's bed-room, his father sleeping in the adjoining room, called Mr. and Mrs. Reynolds up, about six o'clock on Sunday morning, and told them that his mother was dying. Had Mr. Curran really believed that a case of this kind existed against Mr. Reynolds, instead of calling this poor lad of seventeen, he would have put Mr. Fitzgerald the apothecary into the box ; he would have produced the two servants who lived with Mrs. Witherington ; and, above all, he would have called Mr. Witherington, her husband, with whom she lived, and

in whose arms she died. But this was a last despairing effort to create a prejudice against the witness: it failed: independently of the want of evidence, the tale was too notoriously false to produce any other effect at that time than pity and contempt for those who lent themselves to it; all the parties and all the circumstances were too well known to every man on the jury, and to most of the respectable people in Dublin, to affect Mr. Reynolds. Until the slanderous gossip was revived twenty years afterwards, to serve a party purpose in another country, no one ever attached the slightest importance to it. This poor boy was over-persuaded by other parties to swear to the abominable falsehoods which appeared in his evidence in chief. Some years after, in 1802, when living at Usk, in Monmouthshire, with Mr. John Heaviside (brother to Mr. James Heaviside, the master of the ceremonies at the Upper Rooms, at Bath), who had married Miss Catherine Witherington, sister to Mrs. Reynolds, Henry Witherington, then a lieutenant upon half-pay, wrote a letter to Mr. Reynolds, and sent it by Mr. Heaviside, entreating his forgiveness for the part he had been induced, as he said, to act on this occasion. Mr. and Mrs. Heaviside and Mrs. Reynolds interceded for him; and Mr. Reynolds, with a truly christian spirit of forgiveness, was reconciled to him. Mr. Henry Witherington, about a year after this reconciliation, married Miss Bird, the daughter of the late General Bird, and the sister of the present Colonel Bird, of Goitra, in Monmouthshire. On this occasion Mr. Reynolds

officiated as father to the bride, and gave her away. He afterwards assisted the young married couple ; and made them an allowance during the remainder of their lives. Mr. and Mrs. John Heaviside, who still reside in Dublin, are well acquainted with all the above particulars.]

EDWARD WITHERINGTON, ESQ., *sworn.*

You are in a military situation?—Second Major in the 9th Dragoons.

Have you any knowledge of a person of the name of Thomas Reynolds?—I have.

He is married to your sister?—He is.

You recollect the time of your mother's death?—I do.

You were not in Dublin?—No: I was in the north of Ireland.

Do you know the day upon which she was supposed to die?—Sunday morning, as I heard by an express I received.

Did you come to town?—The express did not arrive with me until very early on Monday morning; I was in town about six o'clock on Tuesday evening.

In what situation did you find your mother?—I cannot say: I went into the room that evening; but I was informed—(objected to).

Did you see her the next day?—I did.

Was there anything particular? Was she wrapped in any thing?—Yes, in a pitched sheet, and so dis-

figured by the pitch, that I could not discover a feature of her face.

You know the character of Mr. Reynolds?—I do, Sir; I have some reason to know it.

From your knowledge of his character, and the man, do you think he deserves credit upon his oath in a Court of Justice?—Why, Sir, from a recent circumstance, I must say, from what he asserted in this Court upon a former trial. . . .

[This answer not appearing likely to suit Mr. Curran, he interrupted the witness.]

But from your opinion of the man, and knowledge of his character, is it your opinion that he deserves credit upon oath?—It is a very painful question.

It is so, but you must give your opinion.—I think not, indeed.

Cross-examined.

Do you form that opinion from his general character, taken up some time back, or do you take into consideration anything he swore during the late trial?—I must say, chiefly from what he swore during the trials.

Let me ask you if the point of his testimony was not as to something in which you yourself were concerned?
—Yes.

Did you attend as a witness upon the former trials?
—No; but it is from some assertions in the public prints that I take it.

Are you acquainted with the prisoner?—Not in the least; I never saw him, to my knowledge, until this day.

[Major Witherington proved what Mr. Reynolds had already stated to be the fact, that Mrs. Witherington's body was wrapped up in a pitched sheet. Mr. Reynolds, however, stated that it was done at the suggestion of the undertaker, to preserve the body. Major Witherington did not arrive in Dublin until *Thursday evening* after her decease. He is made to say that he arrived in Dublin on Tuesday evening: either the word Tuesday is a misprint, or Major Witherington in this instance wilfully perjured himself. Major Witherington also reluctantly stated that Mr. Reynolds was not, in his opinion, to be believed upon his oath. Not because the Major believed him to have wilfully hastened the death of his mother, nor from any circumstance injurious to the character of Mr. Reynolds which came to his knowledge in the course of the four or five years their families had been connected, but *in consequence of something personally offensive to Major Witherington, which a newspaper reported Mr. Reynolds to have deposed to on a trial which took place in the preceding week*: the accuracy of which report the Major does not seem to have taken any pains to ascertain. In the year 1803-4, when Major Witherington's regiment, the 9th Light Dragoons, was quartered at Hounslow, Major Witherington prevailed upon Colonel Mellefont, a mutual friend, to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation between him and Mr. Reynolds. Colonel Mellefont succeeded, and from that hour until the regiment went to Buenos Ayres, Major Witherington made Mr. Reynolds's house, in Bryanston Street, his

home, sleeping there week after week, and living at his brother-in-law's table. On the return of the regiment Major Witherington, then a Lieutenant Colonel by brevet, sold out: his intimacy with his brother-in-law was immediately renewed upon the same footing, and continued until Mr. Reynolds went to Lisbon in 1810. Mr. Reynolds and Colonel Witherington met again in Paris in 1820. Colonel Witherington married in France. His intimacy with his brother-in-law was renewed and continued without interruption until he finally quitted France a few months before his death in 1832. A more striking example of forgiveness of injuries, arising from the spirit of Christian charity has seldom been witnessed than was afforded by the conduct of Mr. Reynolds to these two brothers, who had so deeply wronged him. Depraved as human nature is, it cannot be imagined that if either of these brothers believed the atrocious tale the younger of them told, they could ever have sought a reconciliation with the murderer of their mother, and have for years slept under his roof, ate at his board, and accepted his pecuniary aid. The fact that even a boy of seventeen could be suborned to tell such a tale, knowing it to be untrue, shows the dreadful extent to which party and religious feuds had unhinged the better feelings of human nature at this period.

This evidence closed the case on the part of the prisoner. Not one witness to his character was called. A case so closed, after such an opening as Mr. Curran's, calls for no observation from me at present.]

Mr. Cope was now recalled on the part of the Crown, although it is difficult to see why, unless to give Mr. Curran another opportunity of examining him as to his dealings with Mr. Reynolds.

How long have you been acquainted with Thomas Reynolds?—A great many years.

Have you had an intimate knowledge of him and his character?—Yes.

From your knowledge of the man and his character, is he a person to be credited in a court of justice upon his oath?—He certainly is.

Cross-examination by Mr. CURRAN.

You got the character you entertained of Mr. Reynolds in the month of February last?—Certainly.

Did you think he was capable of violating his oath of allegiance?—It never occurred to me.

If you had been asked, what answer would you have given?—I would have said that he could not.

Why?—Because if he had taken the Oath of Allegiance, I should think he would not break it. *But there may be circumstances ; as, for instance, the United Irishmen put a deception upon men's minds, and a man might think he was not breaking the first oath when he took the second.*

* I do not understand this question. I have copied it as I find it printed in Howell's State Trials. Mr. Curran probably asked the witness if he held the same opinion of Mr. Reynolds, in February last, which he stated he held at the time of the trials. As the question stands it appears inconsistent with any other question put by Mr. Curran.

Did you ever hear of that little anecdote of his putting a pitched sheet about his mother-in-law?—Never until I heard it here.

And if you were asked about it in February, you would have said you knew nothing about it?—Certainly; because I could not believe him capable of it.

Would you have said anything about hurrying forward an old lady by a little tartar emetic, if you knew nothing of it?—I would not.

You see the advantage then of not knowing a thing. Had you ever heard at that time that the old lady had taken this dose on Saturday, and died on Sunday?—No: but I heard that she drank a great deal of spirits, took plenty of them. She was almost constantly drunk.

Did you hear that he swore he gave that potion on Friday, and she died on Sunday?—No.

And you have not heard that the pitched sheet was put upon her the fourth day after her death?—I never heard a word of it.

Mr. Curran to the witness.—Do you not see, Mr. Cope, you know nothing of the matter? I might as well ask you about Buonaparte.

[This was the sixth time Mr. Curran had the opportunity of cross-questioning Mr. Cope, since he first insinuated that Mr. Reynolds had attempted to defraud that gentleman of £1000. He never ventured to put one question to Mr. Cope upon the subject! But Mr. Curran contrived without intending it to elicit the real cause of Mrs. Witherington's death, thereby rendering

vain, his extreme caution in calling an one but a boy of seventeen to substantiate the foul calumny he put upon Mr. Reynolds; as well as the delicacy of Mr. Reynolds towards his wife, which had hitherto prevented the counsel for the Crown from exposing the failings of that wife's mother. The reader will have remarked that the last question put by the counsel for the Crown to Henry Witherington tended to elicit the fact now stated by Mr. Cope, but it was not followed up, from delicacy to Mrs. Reynolds, enough having been elicited to satisfy every one in Court of the falsehood of the imputation.]

WILLIAM FURLONG, *Esq., sworn.*

Are you acquainted with Mr. Thomas Reynolds?—I am acquainted with him.

Are you long acquainted with him?—Upwards of seven years.

You have had dealings with him?—I have.

From your dealings with him, your observations upon him, and his character, is he a man to be believed upon his oath in a court of justice?—I think he is.

Cross-examined.

You were his attorney?—I was for some time; I was attorney for his father.

Were you ever attorney for his mother-in-law?—Never; but I was for his mother.

And you knew very much of the pleadings, and briefs, and attested copies?—There were a great many.

He was a litigious client?—No, he was not; but his mother had some business in that way.

Did anything respecting the bolus come before you?—Never.

Nor the pitched sheet wrapped round the body, to prevent the lady from catching cold after she died?—No.

The sheets you are acquainted with are made of paper with wide lines?—Yes, sir.

Ink instead of pitch, six words to a line, for the improvement of counsel. (*Dulce est desipere in loco.*) This is a man of good motives and sound discretion?—He appeared to me a man of good motives and sound understanding.

Have you heard him take many oaths?—No; I heard him take one here.

He took that well?—He did.

The Reverend THOMAS KINGSBURY *sworn*.

Do you know Mr. Thomas Reynolds?—I do, Sir.

How long have you known him?—About four years.

Do you know his general character?—Yes, Sir.

From his general character do you believe him credible upon his oath in a court of justice?—I do.

Cross-examined.

Pray when were you applied to, to give evidence of the character of Mr. Reynolds?—I cannot exactly state as to the day, but I was subpoenaed for the trial of M^rCan.

Was it you that married Mr. Reynolds?—It was not.

You attended his mother-in-law in her last illness?—No, Sir; not at all. I am not a doctor.

Do you not know that there is a spiritual doctor as well as a corporeal one?—Yes; but I am not of standing for a doctor.

Of standing! you are a clergyman?—Yes; but I am only a Master of Arts.

You have heard of the pitched sheet?—I heard some mention of it two minutes ago, but did not know what it meant.

Were you intimate in the family of Mr. Reynolds?—Very intimate.

You never heard any charge of an accident by some tartar emetic?—I never heard a word of it.

Had you any dealing with Mr. Reynolds?—What dealing do you mean? I had very intimate intercourse.

You walked in and walked out, and stayed some time, sitting or standing, and therefore you believe him?—I was very intimate there, and had an opportunity of knowing his character.

Did he ever tell you he would not perjure himself?—No; he never told me so.

Did you ever tell him?—No.

Did you ever think upon the subject?—No.

Then what test had you by which to form your opinion?—His general propriety of conduct.

Was there any sort of dealing between you?—No; but I speak from my intimacy with him.

What part of your intimacy made you of the opinion you have given?—The sentiments I have heard him express.

Is there no such thing as an hypocrite doctor?—There is.

And a man's expressing himself an honest man will not make him one?—No, Sir ; but he never stated himself one or the other ; and from his general conduct I form my opinion.

Do you recollect any particular fact?—I cannot recollect any particular fact ; but I speak from general conduct.

This closed the case on both sides, and Mr. Ponsonby rose to sum up the evidence on the part of the prisoner. He had the good sense and judgment to perceive that every particular charge against Mr. Reynolds, excepting what arose out of his connexion with the United Irishmen, had signally failed ; and he therefore made no allusion whatever to any one of them in his address to the jury. He confined his defence of the prisoner to the circumstance that Mr. Reynolds was the only witness against him ; and he recommended the jury, in strong terms, not to convict upon Mr. Reynolds's testimony, *because Mr. Reynolds, having taken an oath of secrecy, and now violated it, ought not now to be believed.* I will make a few extracts from it without giving the whole of the speech. The following were the leading points :

“My Lords, and Gentlemen of the Jury. I am counsel for Mr. Bond, the unfortunate gentleman who

now appears at the bar. In the present case there has been but one witness to prove this charge against the prisoner, namely, Mr. Reynolds. If he had taken a thousand oaths to challenge the life of the prisoner at the bar, yet what credit, Gentlemen of the Jury, would you give him when you have heard the account he gives of himself? You will observe that he has sworn an Oath of Allegiance to be true to the King, and he has also sworn an oath to be true to the United Irishmen: you see he was not an unsuspected witness as to his character; and you will determine what credit you will give to his testimony,—that is the evidence laid before you. It depends solely upon the testimony of Reynolds. I am sure you cannot believe him. See in what situation he comes forward as a public informer; he takes pride in mentioning his crime. You have heard all the evidence of Reynolds; you are now to consider whether you will give such credit to his evidence as to induce you, on your oaths, to say that Mr. Bond is guilty of high treason, and to take away his life. You have nothing but the evidence of Reynolds to affect the life of Mr. Bond, and you are to judge whether you believe Reynolds or not. If any of you, Gentlemen of the Jury, knew a man who had broken his oath, would you believe him on any other oath he might take? To get the evidence of witnesses to prosecute others, rewards may be held out, or punishments inflicted: in Russia they employ the bowstring or the knout; here a witness has received 500 guineas: *if a witness appears to give evidence as a public informer,*

his evidence and his credit should be very scrupulously attended to, more especially when you have only one witness on which you are to found your verdict, to take away the life of a fellow-creature. We have produced the two Mr. Witheringtons and Mr. Valentine O'Connor to impeach the character of Reynolds; they told you they would not believe Reynolds on his oath: those gentlemen did not give their testimony before, therefore you have more ground to reject Reynolds's testimony than former jurors had. You will therefore most maturely weigh in your consciences whether you think you can or ought to take away the life of the prisoner at the bar, upon the bare testimony of Reynolds. By the common law of England, which is the common law of Ireland, two witnesses are required to prove an overt act of high treason, but the Crown will tell you that in Ireland one witness is sufficient to prove an overt act of high treason; it would therefore be the greatest presumption in me to contend for the contrary position. I shall only press upon your minds, that if you can take away the life of your fellow-man upon the testimony of one single witness, you, Gentlemen of the Jury, must be fully satisfied that there is no just exception to the credit of that single witness. It is of the highest moment, Gentlemen of the Jury, for you to consider that this witness has been impeached in his credit by one of the honestest men in the community, who told you he would not believe Mr. Reynolds upon*

* Mr. Valentine O'Connor. He was fined in the Exchequer for smuggling spirits from the Isle of Man.

his oath. Let me refer you to Mr. Reynolds's own declarations ; he told you of the many oaths he has taken ; he gives a recommendation of himself by his taking oaths and breaking them. I call upon you first to determine whether in your consciences you can give any credit to the testimony he gave ; I call upon you to decide on that point before you find your verdict against the unfortunate prisoner at the bar. You will consider the distressed, painful, critical situation of those two military gentlemen who have given their testimony, that Reynolds ought not to be believed upon his oath. It could not be agreeable to them to come forward to give their evidence, as it might prevent their rising in their profession : can you, therefore, Gentlemen of the Jury, say upon your oaths that you think Reynolds is worthy of credit upon his oath ? You have heard the witnesses to the prisoner's character, and it has been given in evidence that he has gone through the principal part of his life in this city, as a fair and respectable merchant ; that he has a wife and several small children, and that to deprive him of existence would be to visit his crime upon his posterity, upon his nearest and dearest relations." (This sentence is about as inexplicable as any in these trials ; not one witness was examined as to Mr. Bond's character, his position in life, or the state of his family. The Attorney-General, in his opening speech, introduced Mr. Bond to the jury as a wealthy man who had long carried on business in Dublin, and Mr. Reynolds spoke of Mrs. Bond. Mr. Curran, indeed, promised to call evidence to the

character of Mr. Bond, but did not afterwards do so. Mr. Ponsonby concluded his extraordinary speech as follows:—"Gentlemen of the Jury, for the space of four months has my unfortunate client remained in gaol, and all that time, till very lately, been ignorant of the grounds of this prosecution; and has not been able to know the charges made against him, until he got a copy of the indictment; nor been able to find out witnesses who could prove that Reynolds was not deserving of credit upon his oath.* Let me ask you, Would you, now you have heard the evidence on behalf of the prisoner at the bar, condemn him on the bare evidence of Reynolds? *Gentlemen of the Jury, take into your mature deliberation, which do you think most conscientious and agreeable to your oaths, to pronounce a verdict against the life of the prisoner, and establish the evidence of Reynolds, or to reject his evidence, and find your verdict of acquittal of the prisoner?*"

[The above is a full and fair abstract of the speech of Mr. Ponsonby on this occasion, given in the words of Mr. Howell. Mr. Ponsonby never alluded in the most distant manner to any of the charges made against Mr. Reynolds's private character and conduct. He called

* Mr. Bond was arrested on the 12th March; Mr. Reynolds was the object of the suspicions of the United Irishmen very soon after, and he was delivered into the hands of the Government in the beginning of May. The trial took place on the 23rd July. Mr. Bond had known Mr. Reynolds's family before that gentleman was born; he found every member of that family eager to assist him and his agents in the search, yet, as Mr. Ponsonby justly remarked, he was unable to find any one who could prove that Mr. Reynolds was not deserving of credit upon his oath.

upon the jury to disbelieve that gentleman solely upon the ground that he had taken an oath of secrecy to the United Irishmen and broken it. He alluded to Mr. Valentine O'Connor's evidence, passing over it very lightly, because he felt that the reason Mr. O'Connor assigned for discrediting Mr. Reynolds was quite inadequate. He also mentioned the fact that both the Messrs. Witherington disbelieved Mr. Reynolds, and he asked the jury to do so likewise, not because the Messrs. Witherington had any just grounds for their ill opinion of Mr. Reynolds, but because giving their evidence must have been so disagreeable to them, that nothing but their ardent love of truth and justice could have induced them to risk their future promotion in the army by appearing against a crown witness; a singular argument to address to a jury, but one which demonstrates that the counsel who used it felt that their evidence had no other foundation. Mr. Ponsonby, however, took care to impress upon the minds of the jury that the acquittal of the prisoner would be the conviction of the witness, and, *vice versâ*, that to convict the prisoner would be to acquit the witness.]

Mr. Saurin replied. Among other observations he made the following remarks upon the charges against Mr. Reynolds:—

“My Lords, and Gentlemen of the Jury. . . . The prisoner has not produced any evidence in support of his defence; he relies on his witnesses whom you have heard to support the position that Mr. Reynolds ought not to be believed in a court of justice. . . . *If you*

do in your consciences believe that Mr. Reynolds is such a character that he ought not to be believed in a court of justice, in that case you will acquit the prisoner ; but there does not, in this case, appear any evidence on which you can draw that conclusion. Mr. Cope, Mr. Furlong, and Mr. Kingsbury, say they do believe that Mr. Reynolds is worthy of credit in a court of justice : on the other hand, four witnesses, Mr. O'Connor, the Messrs. Witherington, and Miss Fitzgerald, say they are of a contrary opinion. Mr. Reynolds himself told you he was under suspicions ; he was suspected by both parties ; the expression that a witness (Miss Fitzgerald) made use of was, that he was a double traitor. He has told you he was a United Irishman, and, out of a sense of shame and remorse, he came forward, *and gave such information as might tend to the safety of the state : he did not come forward, as in the ordinary case of an informer, having been accused of crime he would foster on another.* Would you believe that Mr. Reynolds is unworthy of credit upon his oath in a court of justice, upon the idle and ridiculous story about a bond for 50*l.* given by Mr. Reynolds to Mrs. Cahill, that, when she afterwards gave the bond to him to calculate the interest due on it, on returning the bond he gave her in mistake the draft of a bond and warrant that lay in his desk ? It appears he owed her 75*l.*, and has paid her the whole of it, except 10*l.* ; which note he sent to take up.

“ Much stress has been laid on the circumstance that, when Mr. Reynolds’s mother-in-law was on her death-

bed, he gave her the medicine of tartar emetic on the Friday, and she died on the Sunday following; and *Mr. Reynolds told you that Captain Witherington had said* that he did believe that Mr. Reynolds had poisoned Mrs. Witherington. If such an abominable crime had really been committed, her sons, as nearest of kin, would no doubt have prosecuted Mr. Reynolds in a criminal way; for if Mr. Reynolds had really poisoned his mother-in-law, Mrs. Witherington, in so public a place as the metropolis of Ireland, and that the fact had really happened, it must have been capable of proof, and if so it was a duty incumbent on her sons to have proceeded against him in a criminal way; and the servants who attended the deceased might have given evidence of that transaction if Mr. Reynolds had really poisoned his mother-in-law. But the fact turns out, by the evidence that has been given, that, Mrs. Witherington having been very ill of a complaint in her stomach, Mr. Reynolds advised the medicine of tartar emetic, a medicine that had been of great efficacy to himself at a time when he had been attacked with the same disorder, and he told you that that medicine was administered to her by her servant. But that servant has not been produced to give her evidence, as no doubt she would have been had there been any truth in the fact alleged to have been committed by Mr. Reynolds; therefore,*

* After Mr. Reynolds was brought to Dublin in custody on the 7th of May, he heard that Major Witherington had said so. When Major Witherington made the observation, *he had what he thought good reason to believe that Mr. Reynolds was dead.* See vol. i. p. 242.

upon the whole of the evidence given on this trial, relative to the allegation that Mr. Reynolds had poisoned his mother-in-law, you have no ground to believe that any such crime was ever committed by him.

“ A great deal of stress has been laid, in order to impeach the moral conduct of Mr. Reynolds, on the fact that he had, on the night of her death, directed that her remains should be wrapped up in a pitched sheet; whence they would infer that Mrs. Witherington had not died in the common and usual way, but through the administration of poison. Now, how does the fact turn out? Mrs. Witherington being extremely ill and not expected to live, Mr. Reynolds sent off an express to her other son, then in the country with his regiment, to come to town immediately, as his mother was dangerously ill.” (Mr. Saurin has slightly mistaken the evidence. Mrs. Witherington was not considered in any immediate danger; her death was so unexpected that her daughter went to the theatre on the night before it took place; the express was not sent off until after her decease; but the variance is not material.) “ *He did not arrive in Dublin for four days, owing to the circumstance, as Mr. Witherington himself has told you, that he was not at the place at which the messenger was directed to find him, and did not for a day or two get Mr. Reynolds’s letter.* Not arriving until the fourth day after the decease of Mrs. Witherington, it was judged necessary, then, to put her remains into a pitched sheet, as it was the wish of Mr. Reynolds that Captain Witherington, her son, should see her remains previous

to interment. One witness, Henry Witherington, said that the pitched sheet was put over her body on the first night after she died : Mr. Reynolds says that it was not put over her until the fourth day after her decease, and that recourse was had to that expedient to keep the body from putrefaction till her son arrived in Dublin, who was then every moment expected. There is a variance in point of time between the two witnesses ; but it is for you to judge which you will give most credit to. . . . I should not dwell so long about the allegations brought against Mr. Reynolds, charging him with poisoning his mother-in-law, and with precipitately directing her remains to be wrapped up in a pitched sheet, had not so great a stress been laid upon these circumstances in order to depreciate and weaken the credit of Mr. Reynolds. . . . And, Gentlemen of the Jury, there has been another circumstance resorted to by the gentlemen on the part of the prisoner, to induce you not to believe the evidence of Mr. Reynolds. Evidence has been produced to you of money transactions between Mr. Cope and Mr. Reynolds relative to a mortgage of land to Mr. Cope for 5000*l.*, and of Mr. Reynolds's personal security for 1000*l.* ; and it was said that in these money transactions there was a sum of 1000*l.* which Mr. Reynolds contended he had a right to be given credit for ; on the other hand it was said that Mr. Cope insisted upon the justness of his demand ; and Mr. Valentine O'Connor was written to by Mr. Reynolds to come to an adjudication and settlement of the accounts between Mr. Cope and Mr. Reynolds. It

is said that, as to one item in the account of 1000*l.*, it was not a fair transaction on the part of Mr. Reynolds ; and upon that ground they would attack the moral character of Mr. Reynolds, in order to induce you to believe that Mr. Reynolds ought not to be believed upon his oath in a court of justice. The counsel on the part of the prosecution called on Mr. Cope to give his evidence, and that gentleman has told you upon his oath, that as to any accounts that related to money matters between him and Mr. Reynolds, which had been settled, it made no manner of impression upon his mind whatever against Mr. Reynolds, and he declared that he considered him as a man that ought to be believed upon his oath in a court of justice. Mr. Valentine O'Connor was then produced, and he told you that, from Mr. Reynolds's conduct in that money transaction, he was of opinion that Mr. Reynolds ought not to be believed on his oath in a court of justice. *The gentleman most interested in that transaction, and who must certainly know all the particulars of their dealings together better than any other man, Mr. Cope, has told you that he has no unfavourable impression against Mr. Reynolds ;* and he has also told you that you ought to believe Mr. Reynolds upon his oath in any court of justice. Gentlemen, it is your province to determine on the degree of credit you will give to any witness ; and on the evidence which you have heard you will determine whether Mr. Reynolds is deserving of credit upon his oath or not. If you shall believe that the charge of poisoning Mrs.

Witherington was an idle and unsupported charge; if you shall believe that as to the pitched sheet no blame could be attached to Mr. Reynolds; if you shall believe Mr. Cope that, with respect to the money-transactions between him and Mr. Reynolds, they were such as made no unfavourable impression upon Mr. Cope's mind, you will no doubt have no hesitation in declaring by your verdict that you believe the testimony of Mr. Reynolds, and that he ought on his oath to be believed in any court of justice. Mr. Cope has very candidly admitted that he has no ill impression on his mind against Mr. Reynolds on account of any money transaction between them; but, admitting that Mr. Reynolds paid greater attention to his own interest in money transactions than he had a strict right to do, yet can you on your oaths believe that *Mr. Reynolds, who has been a trader of some eminence in Dublin,* and must be known to all or most of you*—can you on your oaths believe that Mr. Reynolds, who had been intimate with Mr. Bond, and frequently dined with him, would now come forward, in a court of justice, upon his oath, to take away the life of an innocent man? Can you believe that Mr. Reynolds, who has retained the friendship of men of the fairest character in your country for a series of years—who has had the good opinion of mankind in general—who was in habits of intimacy with the Rev. Mr. Kingsbury for a great length of time past, who has told you that Mr. Reynolds does

* This is the expression given by Howell. Mr. Reynolds was, or rather had been, a silk-manufacturer.

deserve credit in a court of justice,—can you believe that Mr. Reynolds, a man whose character was so much esteemed, would now be such a monster as to come forward in a court of justice, and on his oath to swear away the life of an innocent man; a man against whom he had no grudge, no malice, no spleen whatever? Can you believe any witness who should tell you that Mr. Reynolds is a double traitor (Miss Fitzgerald), and that he has come forward to take away the life of an innocent man, and that you ought not to give credit to his declarations on oath?" (The remainder of Mr. Saurin's reply was to other matters.)

Mr. Justice Chamberlaine then summed up: he began as follows:—"Gentlemen of the Jury, the prisoner at the bar is indicted for two species of high treason; one is compassing and imagining the death of the king; the other, adhering to the persons exercising the powers of government in France, being the enemies of the king, and at open war with him." (Then, after very clearly laying down the law in cases of high treason, he stated the several overt acts charged against the prisoner by the indictment, and, among them, drew their attention particularly to the following.) "It is charged that the prisoner conspired to depose the king: that is by settled law an overt act of compassing his death, because by natural and probable consequences it brings the life of the king into jeopardy. Another act stated is, that he became a member of a treasonable society of United Irishmen, with design to overturn the government, and by rebellion and force to change the constitu-

tion. *Another fact with which the prisoner is charged as the means of carrying his treason into effect is, that he did administer an oath to a person of the name of Thomas Reynolds, by which he was to become a member of this treasonable society. Another is, that he did solicit and urge Mr. Reynolds to become a Colonel of a regiment formed for the purposes of carrying on this rebellion. There are many other acts laid; but my brethren and I are of opinion that those are the facts stated in this indictment to which your consideration should be most particularly pointed, because the evidence appears to be most applicable to them. You have heard a great deal of the law of England, as to the necessity of two witnesses to establish the charge of high treason; but I must tell you, that was not the rule of the common law, which in this respect was the same in treason as in felony. It is true that certain acts of Parliament were passed, altering the law in case of treason as to proof, but the Irish Parliament have never adopted the regulations of the 7th William III. requiring two witnesses. Of what description the evidence in this case is, it will be for you to determine. Mr. Reynolds has sworn that the prisoner administered the oath of the United Irishmen to him, in the prisoner's own house, in the beginning of the year 1797, in the presence of Richard Dillon. He has given an account of the constitution of that society, and he has sworn that their object, as he collected it at their meetings and from their proceedings, was, to overturn the government and constitution, and to establish a Republic;*

and to make use of the assistance of the French to forward these views, in case of an invasion. That shortly after he was sworn he attended a meeting of that society at the Brazen Head in Bridge-street, at which the prisoner, and Hugh Wilson, at that time a clerk in Finlay's bank, and others were present. That at another meeting of delegates from this society, held in February or March, 1797, shortly after the French had departed from Bantry Bay, the prisoner stated a plan for taking possession of the strong places in the city of Dublin. That in November last Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who was also an United Irishman, urged him to become Colonel of a regiment of United Irishmen, in the county of Kildare, called the Kilkea Regiment, from the name of a barony in that county; and that the prisoner advised him to accede to the proposal, saying, it would be of advantage to the cause. He has sworn that, having been elected Colonel of this regiment, and, also treasurer of the barony of Kilkea and Moone, he was of course delegate of that barony, and entitled to attend the county meeting. That on the 18th February he accordingly attended the County of Kildare Meeting of Baronial Delegates, where he, Daly from Kilcullen, and Cummins from Kildare, who was afterwards taken up at the prisoner's house, were appointed delegates to the Provincial Assembly, which, it is observable, he swears were to meet the next day at the house of the prisoner, as they were informed by Michael Reynolds, of or near Naas, who, as he states, had acted as secretary to the county meeting for some

time previous to that day. He has stated, that it was his duty, as a county delegate, to lay an account before the provincial meeting of the number of men, arms, and ammunition, ready and provided by that county; but that, from his having been elected the day before, it was impossible for him to attend that meeting; and that he wrote a letter to the prisoner, desiring him to apologise to M'Can, secretary to the provincial meeting, for his non-attendance, saying that he could not take the bills that day, by which he meant the returns, an expression which, it appears from the evidence of Mr. Reynolds, the prisoner understood; for he told Reynolds, upon his arrival in Dublin, that he had made his apology for him, which it was impossible he should have done, in the sense and meaning of Mr. Reynolds's letter, unless he was apprized of that part of the duty and business of that meeting that was, according to his evidence, to have been held in his house.

“Mr. Reynolds has sworn that upon his arrival he inquired from Bond when the next provincial meeting was to be held; that he referred him to M'Can, who appears to have been the secretary of the meeting; that he accordingly applied to M'Can, who refused to inform him, because he had not produced the return of the strength of the county from which he was a delegate; that, having afterwards procured the return, he went to Bond's house on Saturday, the 10th of March, when M'Can applied to Bond, in the presence of Mr. Reynolds, for a room in his house for the delegates to the provincial meeting; who answered, as Mr. Rey-

nolds swears, that they should have the room they had before ; and that on Sunday the 11th of March M'Can informed him the meeting was to be held on the next day at the house of the prisoner. This is the substance of the evidence given by Mr. Reynolds, immediately connected with the acts and conduct of the prisoner ; and if this evidence be credited by you, there cannot be a doubt that in point of law he is guilty of both the species of treason charged in the indictment." (After observing at some length upon the other parts of the case, particularly upon the papers and documents found upon the prisoner, or at the meeting held at his house, and pointing out to the jury the number of persons* by whom Mr. Reynolds had made himself liable to be contradicted if he had sworn falsely, not one of whom was called, although several of them resided in Dublin or the neighbourhood, and although this was the third time that " Mr. Reynolds had been examined on the subject of this conspiracy," his Lordship proceeded thus.)

" Opposed to this evidence you, gentlemen, are to consider the several objections taken to the credit of Mr. Reynolds. He was an accomplice, and, on entering into this abominable conspiracy, as described by himself, he violated the Oath of Allegiance which he had previously taken, and he had taken also an oath of secrecy,

* Richard Dillon, Hugh Wilson, Daly of Kileullen, Cummins of Kildare, Dr. Kennedy of Aungier-street, Mr. M'Can the apothecary of Grafton-street, Mr. Taylor of Athy, M'Donnell the innkeeper at Naas, Mr. Flood, and Dr. M'Nevin, who all resided in or near Dublin.

and those circumstances, no doubt, form an objection to his credit. *In the violation of that oath of secrecy, however, which is objected to his credit, I must say he performed a duty not only imposed on him by his allegiance, but by morality.* An oath to do that which is unlawful and wicked in itself can have no manner of force. Suppose a man should swear not to pay his debts, is he the less honest for paying them? Or, if he swear to commit murder, shall he therefore perpetrate his crime? Then, *if he shall swear to keep secret a conspiracy, that is to depose his king, overthrow the constitution of his country, and cause the blood of thousands of his fellow-subjects to flow, by what rule of religion or morality is it that he shall be bound to keep so horrible a secret?*" (Mr. Justice Chamberlaine's argument would have been much strengthened if he had here called to mind the fact which he mentions elsewhere, that these, the real objects of the conspirators, only became known to the witness in the course of his attendance at their meetings, and from their proceedings; that the oath of secrecy only purported to relate to measures undertaken to procure Catholic Emancipation and Reform in Parliament; and that the witness, in common with "hundreds upon hundreds," having entered into an association to obtain those two objects, and taken an oath of secrecy, imposed to defeat the provisions of the Convention Bill (see Curran's speech in Finnerty's case), found himself involved in a conspiracy for treasonable purposes. An oath of secrecy, taken under such circumstances, could not impose any tie upon the most

scrupulous conscience. A man of strong mental resolution would have withdrawn himself from such an association the moment he discovered their real objects ; but a man of less resolute disposition might remain a member of such a society partly from dread of the consequence of retirement to himself, partly from seeing little or no prospect of their designs being really carried into execution, and perhaps from family or other ties, until he found himself so deeply involved as to have no retreat open to him but by some expedient like that adopted by Mr. Reynolds.)

“ At first he resolved not to become a witness against any of the persons engaged in this conspiracy, but merely to disclose sufficient to frustrate them in the attainment of their object, and to leave the kingdom ; and he proposed to Mr. Cope that he should be reimbursed the mere expense of his taking such a proceeding. To this Mr. Cope readily assented, and the witness has actually received the sum of 500 guineas ; but you will recollect that he swears he did not consent to become a witness until after he had received the money, and, if he swore falsely in this respect, he must be sure to have been contradicted by Mr. Cope ; but it is for you to decide, Gentlemen, whether the receiving this money, taking the transaction as it stands, does form an objection to his credit or not. You will consider the situation in which this man stood, when, as he states, he resolved to become a witness. He found himself strongly suspected by his own party ; he had

received a summons to abide his trial for having betrayed them, and expected, possibly you will think with good reason, that his assassination was to be the consequence." (The learned judge forgot to state here what appeared in evidence, that Mr. Reynolds was taken into custody upon a charge of high treason, in consequence of informations sworn against him by his own captains.) "Among all loyal men he found himself considered as a traitor, and held, as he says, in contempt, and naturally too, for refusing to bring the authors of this wickedness to punishment. In this miserable situation, to which he had reduced himself, he took the resolution, as he says, to appear before a jury of his countrymen, who should judge of the whole of his conduct. You, Gentlemen, will determine whether this is a natural account of the workings of his mind under the circumstances in which he stood.

"Mr. Valentine O'Connor, who has known Mr. Reynolds from his infancy; Ann Fitzgerald, who is his aunt; and his two brothers-in-law, Messrs. Witherington, who ought to know the witness thoroughly, all declare he does not, from his character, deserve to be believed upon his oath. *But you are to examine their reasoning as well as their assertion.* Mr. O'Connor founds his opinion partly on the transaction between Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Cope; but Mr. Cope himself has received no such impression therefrom, for he has appeared to support this man's credibility: and in truth, as the circumstances have been related by Mr. Rey-

nolds (who has not been contradicted), I do not see anything fraudulent in his conduct. Of that, however, you are the judges. .

“ You will attend minutely to Miss Fitzgerald’s reasons in support of her evidence as to Mr. Reynolds not deserving credit, and decide whether they are satisfactory. Her brother, it appears, has been accused of having entered into this conspiracy : she has dropped some expressions with respect to Mr. Reynolds having become an informer : if she conceives it to be a man’s duty not to discover any of his accomplices in so horrible a treason as has been sworn to—if this be the only foundation of her opinion (she has alleged no other), of which you are to judge, it ought not to have much weight.

“ As to Mr. Henry Witherington, he appears to have formed his opinion upon the circumstance of his mother’s death ; and his evidence is calculated to make an impression upon your minds that Mr. Reynolds committed the horrible crime of poisoning that lady, to whose daughter he was married : *strictly speaking, such an inquiry ought not to be entered into for the purpose of impeaching the character of a witness ; because neither the witness, nor the person producing him to give testimony upon a totally different matter, can be supposed to be prepared to rebut such a charge.* But, if this accusation be considered, neither this gentleman, who to be sure was very young at the time of his mother’s death, nor any of his family, ever prosecuted Mr. Reynolds for this dreadful crime. *Mr. Fitzgerald, the apothecary,*

who attended the lady, has not been produced ; and it has not been shown that Mr. Reynolds had any temptation to commit so horrible a crime. Some contradiction, however, has taken place between this gentleman and Mr. Reynolds, as to the time when the body was enclosed in a pitched sheet, and you will judge how far that is material.

“ As to Major Witherington, his principal reason for impeaching the credit of Mr. Reynolds is some circumstance reflecting upon the conduct of this gentleman himself, which Mr. Reynolds swore upon a former trial, as appears in some newspaper report of the trial ; but whether the statement in that newspaper be accurate in that report, he has not taken any pains to inquire.

“ In support of Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Cope and Mr. Furlong, who have had considerable dealings with Mr. Reynolds, and Mr. Kingsbury, all agree in stating he is a man who, from his general character, deserves to be believed.”

. The learned Judge concluded by leaving the whole case to the jury, recommending them, if they entertained any rational doubt, to lean to the side of mercy and acquit the prisoner.

After “ seven minutes’ ” deliberation the jury returned with a verdict of “ Guilty.”

In addition to the evidence given in this particular case, to impeach the character and moral conduct of Mr. Reynolds, the prisoner had the advantage, in an indirect manner, of all the evidence produced on the two former trials; three of the jury, in this case, having tried Byrne,

and one of them having tried M'Can. The jury, moreover, were well acquainted with all the parties; they knew and were well able to appreciate the several characters and motives of the prisoner at the bar, the witness against him, and the several persons who were called to impeach that witness. The counsel for the prosecution reminded them that "the prisoner at the bar had been long resident in Dublin, prosperous in a very extensive trade, and by that tie connected with every part of the kingdom; and that many of the jury knew the respectability of his connexions;" and "that the witness had been a merchant of eminence in Dublin, and must be known to most or all of them;" and they told the jury that, if they believed that Mr. Reynolds was such a character as he had been represented, they ought to acquit the prisoner. And the counsel for the prisoner told the jury that a verdict against the prisoner would establish the evidence of the witness, while a verdict of acquittal would be tantamount to a declaration that "they did not believe one syllable that Mr. Reynolds had told them," and that they must be "fully satisfied that there was no just cause of exception to the credit of that witness" before they could convict the prisoner.

In reply to this appeal, notwithstanding that "neither Mr. Reynolds nor those who tendered him to give evidence upon a totally different matter could be supposed to be prepared to rebut the extraordinary charges brought against him," the evidence was so satisfactory that the verdict of this jury, for the third time, declared that he

was not such a character as he had been represented ; that there was no just cause of exception to his evidence ; and acquitted him on all the charges.

The reader has before him the deliberate opinions of three juries, and of five out of the six judges in the commission, upon the conduct and character of Mr. Reynolds. I will now submit to him the deliberate opinion of the sixth of those judges, given in writing nineteen years after these events, during the whole of which time Mr. Reynolds enjoyed the uninterrupted private friendship of that good man and upright judge.

In 1817 Viscount Carleton wrote the following letter to Mr. Reynolds :

Sir,—From the opportunities which were afforded to me in 1798 for forming a judgment of your character and your conduct in assisting his Majesty's government towards putting down the dangerous rebellion which took place at that period, I formed a judgment that in the whole of your conduct, and in the communications which were carried on on your part with the government, and in the evidence which you gave upon the prosecutions of the rebels, you had behaved with *consistency, integrity, honour, ability, and disinterestedness*. Whenever I have heard any allusions respecting you, as to the transactions of those periods, I have expressed my sentiments in favour of your conduct and character as an act of justice towards a person who had done most valuable service to the state ; and I will now add, that my sen-

timents are in perfect unison with those which are expressed in *Lord Castlereagh's letter*.*

I am, Sir,

Your faithful and obedient Servant,

(Signed) CARLETON.

To show that the opinions of all the judges, and the three successive juries, were in perfect unison with those of Mr. Reynolds's fellow-citizens, amongst whom he was born, and to whom his general character and conduct were well known, I subjoin the following testimony, given to him *three months after these trials*, when any temporary effervescence of feeling arising out of them had subsided.

On the 15th of October, 1798, Mr. Reynolds was made free of the guild of merchants, and the following address was presented to him engraved in a gold box, and upon a medal of Irish gold.

Sir,

Dublin, October 15, 1798.

Sensible of the highly honourable and truly important services which you have rendered to your king and to your country, which you have preserved from total ruin, massacre, and destruction; and deeply impressed by the recent incontrovertible evidences, so fully and so repeatedly manifesting the honour and integrity of your individual character and conduct—We, the Masters, Wardens, and Brethren of the Guild of Merchants present you with the freedom

* This letter will be found in Vol. i. p. 446, note.

of our guild, and with the accompanying testimonies of our most grateful thanks.

W. LINDSAY, Senior Master.

P. POWELL, Junior Master.

J. DICKENSON, } Wardens.

W. WALSH, }

Shortly after the above, the freedom of the city of Dublin was likewise presented to Mr. Reynolds.

In the preceding pages I have given a correct copy of every part of those three trials which had any bearing upon the case of Mr. Reynolds; my object being to ascertain, from the evidence, “whether the three juries who tried M‘Can, Byrne, and Bond, ought to have believed Mr. Reynolds at that time, or whether his private character was proved to be so depraved, and his motives so venal, that those juries ought at once to have rejected his evidence, and that his memory ought still to be held up to public scorn.” After the perusal of these trials—records which have been before the public forty years—many will wonder that such an inquiry should have been thought necessary. The triumphant answer given in 1798 to every charge brought against Mr. Reynolds’s private character and conduct—the full and satisfactory manner in which the charge of venality was repudiated—would seem to render the present review a mere work of supererogation. Doubtless such would have been the case in ordinary circumstances. With such records as these before the public, the reputation of Mr. Reynolds might have been

left to the future historian, who, writing when the passions and the interests of the times had passed away, would have given no more weight to these charges than was given to them by the judges and juries of the day, had not a man who, whatever may have been the errors of his political professions, was once thought by most men the very personification of private honour and personal integrity, nineteen years after these events had sunk into oblivion, taken occasion to revive all these slanders (when Mr. Reynolds was summoned upon the grand jury of the county of Middlesex, to consider bills of indictment for high treason preferred against Watson and others, in 1817) in a place in which he knew that Mr. Reynolds could not appear in his own defence—in his place in parliament. That person, being well aware that there was no one present who could answer him on behalf of Mr. Reynolds, but Lord Castlereagh, who, dreading inquiry into Irish affairs, had already shrunk from his defence, renewed every charge formerly made against that gentleman's private character in the most offensive terms, supporting his charges by reading partial extracts from the evidence of Mr. O'Connor and the two Messrs. Witherington, suppressing altogether their cross-examination, and so representing their evidence as to make the elder Witherington appear to confirm the evidence of his younger brother; keeping out of sight the evidence in Mr. Reynolds's defence and the observations of the judges; thus representing those circumstances to be true which his previous perusal of the trials must have convinced him to be false. Not,

however, content with thus misrepresenting that which was on record, and so giving it renewed consistency where contradiction was impossible, and fresh currency supported by the weight of his then unsullied name, Sir Francis Burdett drew on the resources of his own invention to add odium and infamy to the name of Mr. Reynolds, by a tale of that gentleman's dining with Mrs. Bond, after having caused the arrest of her husband, and caressing her little children, assuring them that he would soon procure the release of their parent. A similar tale is told, in Mr. William Curran's *Life of his Father, of Captain Armstrong*, who was employed to watch and betray Henry and John Sheares. That work was not published at the period of which I now speak, and could not therefore have supplied Sir Francis Burdett with the foundation of this tale; but he probably had heard of the anecdote, and, knowing that he could not be contradicted, thought it might serve to add venom to his slander. Sir Francis Burdett spoke with such apparent authority, quoting from records, which his character was then considered to be an ample guarantee that he would quote correctly, that, although his charges were supported by such men as the Honourable Montague Matthew and the Honourable Henry Grey Bennett only,* yet Mr. Brougham was

* It is worthy of remark that the only persons who in the House of Commons revived these slanderous and unfounded charges against Mr. Reynolds's moral character and conduct, supporting them by partial and garbled quotations from the evidence, were, first, the Honourable General Montague Matthew, a noted gambler, and the horse-whipped seducer and betrayer of the unhappy Lady Raneliffe; secondly, the Ho-

deceived, and induced to make the employment of Mr. Reynolds under the Foreign Office a prominent part of his subsequent motion relative to the state of the nation.

nourable Henry Grey Bennet, whose private vices, brought to light a few years later, drove him from the society of his fellow-men; and Sir Francis Burdett, whose political apostacy and unblushingly avowed hypocrisy have since disgusted all parties. At the Conservative festival, held at Leeds on Monday the 16th April, 1838, Sir Francis Burdett is reported to have spoken as follows:—"When I was a Reformer, I thought it an abuse that any part of the House of Commons should be elected by the nomination of individuals. And why? Because I thought that the constitution gave to the people that portion of the legislature; and I was anxious to clear it from what I supposed to be its greatest imperfection, and attended with public evil. Then I was called a Radical. I was a Radical, because I was for extirpating what was a radical abuse; *but I own there were always arguments which staggered me on that point.* For a person to have the nomination of seats in that house, was theoretically opposed to the constitution of this great republic, for so I will venture to call it, which is composed of all the parts of government that are beneficial, excluding all those which may be pernicious, thereby giving it all that unity and celerity of action which a monarchy can give, and at the same time controlling it by the great power of the independent interests of the country, such as the landed proprietors and the peers of the land, who can have no permanent interest contrary to the people at large. There you see a magnificent structure of a political edifice, which the wisdom of the world never produced in any other country; and, whether this may be attributed to what some will call accident, *or what I myself should call providence, or to the great caution and wisdom of our ancestors in never stepping out of the path of reason and common sense*—whether it was owing to the one or to the other, or how much to one or how much to the other, is not for me to say; but all agree that such a state of society, of power, of glory, and renown, such a state of personal security and safety, such a field for human exertion, such encouragement for every virtue public and private, such liberty and justice, never existed before, and *does not now exist on the face of the earth.*" See the Hull Packet newspaper, for Friday, April 20th, 1838.

These charges were thus again revived after nineteen years extinction, with all the weight of Sir Francis Burdett's and Mr. Brougham's names attached to them. The opposition papers, particularly the *Morning Chronicle*, edited at that time by Mr. Perry, the intimate friend of Mr. Reynolds in private, but who on that occasion sacrificed every feeling of private friendship, and every sense of gratitude for the deepest personal obligations, to his party, eagerly seized the opportunity of giving personal annoyance to Lord Castlereagh by repeating the charges in the most offensive language; and the friends of the United Irishmen as eagerly seized the opportunity of vengeance upon Mr. Reynolds. Among the latter the editor of the '*Life of Mr. Curran*' shone pre-eminent. His father died in 1817. Shortly after his death, his son, Mr. William Henry Curran, published his *Life*. He devoted a chapter to the trials of *M'Can, Byrne, and Bond*, and he then presented to the world a new edition of his father's speech in defence of *Bond*. The speech reported to have been delivered on this occasion, which passed unchallenged during the remaining nineteen years of Mr. Curran's life, as the undoubted address of that gentleman, is already before the reader. It abounds in mis-statements of the evidence, and it promises largely for the defence, although the evidence subsequently called, entirely failed to support that defence. It bears an evident relation to the case before the court, and appears to be the unpremeditated effusion of counsel, ardent in the cause of his client, feeling the weight of the case against him,

and not over particular as to the correctness or justifiable nature of the statements he made in defence of his client. But the speech published by Mr. William Henry Curran not only takes no notice whatever of the evidence already called, not only does not allude in the remotest degree to the intended defence of his client, but is devoted exclusively to the most violent abuse of Mr. Reynolds; and bears every mark of being a carefully, though not very ably, written closet composition. Whether this speech was composed by Mr. Curran himself, during the leisure of his retirement in the Rolls, or by some other person in his name, after his death, matters very little. It was not the speech delivered by Mr. Curran. In reporting himself, his son tells us that Mr. Curran was not unused "*to report all that he had said, and all that he had not said, but that he might have said.*" Whoever has reported him in this case has acted upon the latter part only of Mr. Curran's own practice. Omitting what Mr. Curran did say, he has carefully reported what he did not say, but might have said, if utterly regardless, as was his wont, of the evidence both for and against his client. Mr. W. H. Curran introduced his account of these three trials with the following observations.

"It is time for invective and resentment to cease, or, if such a feeling will irresistibly intrude, it is time at least to control and suppress it. Twenty years have now passed over the heads or the graves of the parties to that melancholy conflict; and their children may now see prospects of prosperity opening upon their

country, not perhaps of the kind, or to the extent, to which, in her more ambitious days, she looked, but assuredly of a more rational description than could have been obtained by violence, and such as, when realized, as they promise soon to be, will compensate for past reverses, or at all events console. At such a moment, in approaching this fatal year, we may dismiss every sentiment of personal asperity or posthumous reproach: without wishing to disturb the remorse of those upon either side who may be repenting, or to revive the anguish of the many who have suffered, we may now contemplate it as the period of an awful historical event, and allude to the mutual passions and mistakes of those who acted or perished in it with the forbearance which should not be refused to the unfortunate or the dead." Having thus premised the principles of universal charity and forgiveness upon which he proposed to discuss these trials, he thus introduced Mr. Reynolds to his readers:—"The informer in question was Thomas Reynolds, a name that will be long remembered in Ireland, and of which the celebrity has extended to England by some late discussions of his character in the British Parliament. This man had been the principal witness for the Crown upon the trials of M'Can and Byrne; and it is not improbable that a tenderness for his reputation had occasioned the suppression of Mr. Curran's defences in those cases. The following description of him by Mr. Curran, in Bond's case, has been omitted in the common report." When Mr. William Curran published his father's life it would seem that the

description of Mr. Reynolds above mentioned was nearly all that had been recovered of "the shorter but much more correct speech;" for Mr. William Curran only complains of the omission of that description in the common report. He thus mentions the speech. Mr. Curran's defence of Bond "was considered by the Bar as the most powerful of his efforts upon the state-trials of this year; but those who were present at its delivery scarcely recognise it amidst the defects and distortions of the published report. There exists, however, another, *a shorter, but a much more correct one*, from which some extracts shall be inserted here." From which it would appear that the published speech was not altogether erroneous; it was only defective and distorted. It will be seen presently that within a twelvemonth fresh discoveries proved it to be altogether wrong; and the remaining parts of the "shorter, but much more correct" speech having fortunately been discovered, the reported speech was altogether set aside, and "the shorter, but much more correct speech" substituted for it. Having thus exhibited the nature of that forbearance that should not be refused to the unfortunate and the dead, with which he intended to allude to the mutual passions and mistakes of those who acted in the memorable period of 1798; having thus shown how he meant to control and suppress the feeling for invective and resentment when time itself could not prevent its irresistible intrusion, he proceeded to give the description of Mr. Reynolds, of which, certainly, no trace is to be found in the original reported speech, nor any hiatus in

which it could be inserted; and, borrowing a feature from Sir Francis Burdett, under pretence of exhibiting Mr. Curran's uncommon skill in cross-examination, he inserted in a note an extract from Mr. Curran's cross-examination of Mr. Reynolds in M'Can's case, containing the most atrocious insinuations made by Mr. Curran, some of which he never attempted to support by evidence, and others, the proof of which altogether failed, without noticing either of these facts; he moreover introduced this partial extract by the following ingeniously-erroneous account of Mr. Reynolds. I call it ingeniously erroneous, because there is just enough of truth in it to give countenance to that which is false, just enough of truth to mislead the careless reader. *"Reynolds was a silk-mercator of Dublin, who had taken a very active part in the conspiracy. He was, in 1797, colonel of the United Irishmen, afterwards treasurer and representative of a county, and finally a delegate for the province of Leinster. As the time of the general insurrection approached, either remorse or the hope of reward induced him to apprise the Government of the danger. Having previously settled his terms, five hundred guineas in hand and personal indemnity, through Mr. Cope, a Dublin merchant, he gave information of an intended meeting of the Leinster delegates at Bond's house, upon which those persons, among whom were M'Can and Byrne, were arrested in the month of March. The evidence of Reynolds, when connected with the papers that were seized, was so conclusive against those who were tried, that no line of defence*

remained but to impeach his testimony. The following extracts from Mr. Curran's cross-examination of him will show the manner in which this was attempted." Those who have attended to the evidence given in the preceding pages will see that the parts in the above account printed in italics were either entirely false, or so plausibly mixed up with truth as to convey impressions totally at variance with the facts.

While Mr. William Henry Curran was thus inventing new methods of giving currency to obsolete slanders against another, he was making the following appeal on behalf of his own parent :—" There was a time when such considerations would have failed to appease his numerous accusers, who, under the vulgar pretext of moral indignation, were relentlessly taking vengeance on his public services by assiduous and exaggerated statements of private errors, which, had he been one of the enemies of his country, they would have been the first to screen or justify. But it is hoped that he was not deceiving himself when he anticipated that the term of this hostility would expire as soon as he should be removed beyond its reach. The charity of the survivors, to use his own expression, looks at the failings of the dead through an inverted glass ; and *slander* calls off *the pack* from a chase in which, when there can be no pain, there can be no sport."

In this species of vengeance upon Mr. Reynolds, Mr. William Henry Curran found a willing abettor in Mr. Howell. In the year 1820, shortly after the publication of the Life of Curran, Mr. Howell published the 27th vo-

lume of State Trials, containing the trials of M'Can, Byrne, and Bond. He took that opportunity of lending his aid to the "pack of slanderers," led by Sir Francis Burdett and his two worthy coadjutors. As a compiler of important State Trials, his duty was to report each case fully and fairly, in the language employed by those who, being present at the trials, reported them from notes taken at the time. "Notes and other illustrations" in a publication of this nature, to be useful, should on no account be partial, vindictive, or illiberal. Mr. Howell thus speaks of Mr. Reynolds in a note to his examination in chief upon Bond's trial. "The character and conduct of this person have been, on many occasions, animadverted upon, not only in Ireland, but also in England; as well in the Houses of Parliament as elsewhere. Recently the public attention has been directed to the history of the transactions in which he was engaged in Ireland, in consequence of his having been summoned, and of his having served, as one of the grand-jury of the county of Middlesex by which the bill of indictment against Watson and others for high treason was presented in the year 1817.—See this case in this collection, *infra*. It appears that, since the conviction of his confederates, he has been employed in stations of trust and profit under the British Government.—For more concerning him, see the thirty-sixth volume of 'Hansard's Parliamentary Debates,' pp. 971, &c. &c. &c." This would almost seem to be a harmless note of reference. But the first part of it was at least uncalled for, and the tone of it not such as Mr. Howell

ought to have used when speaking of a gentleman, at least his equal in birth, education, and fortune, who was not guilty of any of the moral turpitude laid to his charge, as Mr. Howell must have seen from the evidence in the very case which he was then engaged in reporting. The latter part, referring to another case, insinuates that Mr. Reynolds was summoned and sworn upon the grand-jury improperly. In the same note Mr. Howell refers the reader to 'Hansard's Debates' for the discussions relating to Mr. Reynolds, so that he had undoubtedly referred to them himself, and must necessarily have been acquainted with the speech of the Attorney-General, in which that learned gentleman says, "As to the appointment of Mr. Reynolds on the grand jury, government or the law officers knew no more of his having been so appointed than the honourable and learned gentleman himself. He (the Attorney-General) had been informed that, on Mr. Reynolds being summoned on the grand jury, he was anxious to get rid of the burthen, and asserted that he ought to be excused on the ground of his being appointed a Consul to a foreign State; but this was refused by the summoning officer." In the report of Watson's case, to which Howell refers, he gives the names of the grand jury, an almost solitary instance of the names of the grand jury being given, but he takes no notice of Mr. Reynolds's objection to serve, although the reporter must have been acquainted with the fact, and Mr. Howell's attention must have been drawn to it by the Attorney-General's speech; thus leaving it to be inferred that Mr.

Reynolds was summoned upon the grand jury for political purposes, and that he lent himself to those purposes. Mr. Reynolds's objection was not only made to the summoning officer, it was made to the judge in open court, who, finding that Mr. Reynolds was not about to leave London immediately, refused his application to be excused.* The omission of all notice of this circumstance, forming as it did a remarkable feature in the case of Watson, and known as it must have been to Mr. Howell from the speech of the Attorney-General, sufficiently shows the feeling with which this person has compiled his State Trials. I have already stated that this person avowedly suppressed the speech attributed to Mr. Curran, in defence of Bond, by the original reporters, and substituted another speech supplied by Mr. W. H. Curran for it. The following is his own account of that transaction:—"The Life of the Right Honourable J. P. Curran, by his son W. H. Curran, Esq., to which I have already had occasion to refer, contains some extracts from a 'shorter but much more correct report' of the speech in defence of Bond, than that which is given in the printed collection of 'Curran's Speeches.' Mr. Curran, to whom I am happy in avail-

* Mr. Reynolds was entitled to serve on the grand jury of Middlesex, and had served upon it frequently; on this occasion he was summoned in the regular course, his only reason for seeking to be excused was the personal inconvenience to which his attendance exposed him at a time when he was making preparations to go to Copenhagen and thence to Iceland, where his duties called him during the summer months; but his desire to be excused serving on this occasion proves that he had not lent himself to any supposed improper purpose.

ing myself of an opportunity of offering my thanks for the readiness with which he has afforded me his assistance on the present as well as on other occasions, has obligingly furnished me with the passages which he had omitted in the life of his father, and I have accordingly printed in the text the above-mentioned report at length." The following is the speech thus happily recovered in all its parts :—

" Gentlemen of the Jury ; fatigued as I am at this very advanced hour, and poorly as I am calculated to discharge the awful duty upon which I am entering, I feel how much more my client must depend upon the impartiality of his judges than on the efforts of his advocate. I am not accustomed to make formal or premeditated speeches, but have been always of opinion that my clients have found their best defence in the kind and good-natured construction of their jurors. I trust that the present will not mistake the weakness of the advocate for the imbecility of the cause, or, because the defence may be poorly insisted on, conclude that the accused must be guilty.

" Gentlemen of the Jury ; I do lament that the present cause has not been brought forward as simply and as unconnected with extraneous matter as in justice and humanity it ought. I do lament, and God grant that my client may not have cause to lament, that any of those little artifices, which attach like cankering excrescences to the forms of justice, should be employed in a great and solemn cause like this. I cannot but bewail that, instead of trying a fellow-subject on the simple

allegations contained in the indictment, there are introduced petty observations and allusions to persons and things, which ought not to intermingle in such a cause. What have to do with this trial the personages named with such seeming incidentality in the introductory statement? In God's name, what relation has the speech of my Lord Moira in the House of Peers to the case of my unhappy client? What the accidental table conversation of Lord Wycombe? If, feeling and acting upon that dignity of mind which makes men resist *the selfish allurements of great fortune, and the debase-ments of luxury*,—if an elevation of soul and uncommon extension of philosophic views can make his name revered in the estimation of virtue as it is exalted in titled distinction, then does Lord Wycombe challenge our admiration and esteem;—but what has all this to do with the charges preferred against my client?

“Gentlemen of the Jury; much pains has been taken to warm you, and then you are entreated to be cool; when the fire has been kindled, it has been spoken to, and prayed to be extinguished. What is that?” (Here Mr. Curran was again interrupted by the tumult of the auditors; it was the third time that he had been obliged to sit down: on rising he continued)—“I have very little, scarcely any hope of being able to discharge my duty to my unfortunate client, perhaps most unfortunate in having me for his advocate. I know not whether to impute these inhuman interruptions to mere accident; but I greatly fear they have been excited by prejudice.” (The Court said they would punish any person who

dared to interrupt the Counsel for the prisoner. "Pray, Mr. Curran, proceed on stating your case : we will take care, with the blessing of God, that you shall not be interrupted.") "You have been cautioned, Gentlemen, against prejudice. I, also, urge the question, and not with less sincerity : but what is the prejudice against which I would have you armed ? I will tell you : it is that pre-occupation of mind that tries the accused before he is judicially heard—that draws those conclusions from passion which should be founded on proof*—and *that suffers the temper of the mind to be dissolved and debased in the heat of the season.* It is not against the senseless clamour of the crowd, feeling impatient that the idle discussion of fact delays the execution, that I warn you. No : you are too proud, too humane, to hasten the holiday of blood. It is not against any such disgraceful feelings that I warn you. I wish to recall your recollections to your own minds, to guard you against the prejudice of elevated and honest understanding, against the prejudice of your virtues.

"It has been insinuated, and with artful applications to your feelings of national independence, that I have advanced on a former occasion the doctrine that you should be bound in your decisions by an English act of Parliament, the statute of William the Third. Reject

* Let the reader of these trials apply this caution to both sides ;—to the case of the witness as well as to that of the prisoner :—let him carefully attend to the evidence ; and, dismissing from his mind the exaggerated statements of counsel, found his conclusions on proof ! Had this caution been always attended to, I should now be spared the painful task I have undertaken.—(Note of the Editor.)

the unfounded accusation ; nor believe that I assail your independence, because I instruct your judgment and excite your justice. No ; the statute of William the Third does not bind you ; but it instructs you upon a point which before was enveloped in doubt. The morality and wisdom of Confucius, of Plato, of Socrates, or of Tully, does not bind you, but it may elevate and illumine you ; and in the same way have British acts of Parliament reclaimed you from barbarism. By the statute of William the Third, two witnesses are necessary in cases of high treason, to a just and equal trial between the Sovereign and the subject ; and Sir William Blackstone, one of the wisest and best authorities on the laws of England, states two witnesses to be but a necessary defence of the subject against the profligacy of ministers. In this opinion he fortifies himself with that of Baron Montesquieu, who says, that where one witness is sufficient to decide between the subject and the State, the consequences are fatal to liberty ; and a people so circumstanced cannot long maintain their independence. The Oath of Allegiance, which every subject is supposed to have taken, stands upon the part of the accused against the oath of his accuser ; and no principle can be more wise or just than that a third oath is necessary to turn the balance. Neither does this principle merely apply to the evidence of a common and impeached informer, such as you have heard this day, but to that of any one witness, however high and respectable his character. I put this question to the Bench, and I put it confidently, if it is its opinion that the sta-

tute of William the Third ought not to have any authority with an Irish jury? If such be the opinion of the Bench, I will not say it is a wrong one—my respect for the Court will prevent my even thinking it is a wrong one,—but I will say, it will be the first of the kind ever given in this kingdom.

“I now beg leave, Gentlemen of the Jury, to make a few observations on the charges laid in the indictment, and on the evidence offered in support of those charges. The prisoner is accused of compassing and imagining the King’s death, and of adhering to his enemies. There are two counts: the evidence is twofold; parole and written.

“Mr. Reynolds has sworn that he was made a United Irishman by the prisoner, and has also sworn to what he conceived to be the objects of the society into which he had thus entered. But has he, Gentlemen of the Jury, sworn on his oath, liberal as he has been of them, that he was informed of these objects by the prisoner at the bar? No such thing; but he has told you what, if you believe anything that he swears, must go as conclusive evidence in favour of my client: he has told you that hundreds upon hundreds—these were his words—took the United test, attaching no other meaning thereto than what was obviously conveyed by its literal expression. He has told you that two classes of men took this obligation; one as binding them to those objects of conspiracy and treason which he has already explained; and the other as considering it to be a bond of religious charity, and affection, and political and constitutional re-

formation.* But he has not, hazardous as he is in evidential enterprise, ventured to state to which of these classes the prisoner at the bar belonged. And who shall attach crime to religious charity? Who shall thus aid in restoring the terrible and gloomy reign of bigotry which embroils men in hatred and in blood, turning their passions against each other's follies, instead of teaching them to bear each other's weaknesses, and endeavouring to sanctify with the blasphemous perversion of religious sentiments the lust of power and the lust of vengeance.

“What, Gentlemen of the Jury, shall I say to you on the second feature of this test or obligation—Parliamentary Reform? On that point, no man can be worse calculated to address you than I am; for, in entering on the subject, I should seem to stand here more as the defender of myself than of my client: and if to promote a Reform in Parliament be to compass and imagine the King's death, or adhere to his enemies, you had better withdraw your attention from the unhappy gentleman at the bar, and in me behold the real criminal. If Parliamentary Reform be to endanger the life of the King,

* This may not be an unfair deduction to draw from Mr. Reynolds's evidence; but it is incorrect in point of fact to assert that he made any such statement. Mr. Reynolds said that hundreds upon hundreds took the test, attaching no other meaning to it than its words conveyed; but he said nothing whatever of any other class; although he said that the real designs of the confederacy were discoverable after taking the test by attendance at their meetings; but it does not follow that any of the confederates entertained any criminal designs whatever when first they took the test, whatever plans they may have formed afterwards.

and to comfort his enemies, let your vision take a wider range, and in the parent of the measure—in the first minister of Great Britain—behold the prime, the great, and the original culprit.*

“ I know that Reynolds has laboured to establish a connexion between the prisoner and the meeting held at his house ; but how does he manage ? He brings forward asserted conversations with persons who cannot confront him,—with M‘Can whom he has sent to the grave, and with Lord Edward Fitzgerald, whose premature death leaves his guilt a matter upon which justice dares not to pronounce. *He has never told you that he has spoken to any of these in the presence of the prisoner.*”

(The above paragraphs contain the only allusion to the evidence against the prisoner in this supposed speech ; and the last sentence is a mis-statement of the evidence, Mr. Reynolds having stated that M‘Can and he, being in Mr. Bond’s wareroom on Saturday the 10th of March, M‘Can asked Bond for a room for the provincial meeting to be held on the Monday, and Bond replied that he might have the room he had before : not one word more is anywhere said on the nature of the intended defence or of the witnesses to be called for the prisoner. The remainder of the composition which follows contains little but a most violent and abusive rhapsody against Mr. Reynolds. That

* Compare this, Mr. Curran’s deliberate written defence of the United Irishman’s test, with his observations and description of it in Peter Finerty’s case, given in Vol. i. p. 394.

effusion of gall was its only merit in the eyes of those who have foisted it upon the public: to give publicity to that rhapsody, Mr. Curran's son substituted this apochryphal composition for his father's speech, and found a ready tool in Mr. Thomas Jones Howell.)

“ Are you then prepared, in a case of life and death, of honour and infamy, to credit a vile informer—the perjurer of an hundred oaths—a wretch whom pride, honour, or religion, could not bind? The forsaken prostitute of every vice calls upon you, with one breath, to blast the memory of the dead, and to blight the character of the living. Do you think Reynolds to be a villain? It is true he dresses like a gentleman, and the confident expression of his countenance and the tones of his voice savour strong of growing authority. He measures his value by the coffins of his victims, and in the field of evidence appreciates his fame, as the Indian warrior does in fight, by the number of scalps with which he can swell his triumphs. He calls upon you, by the solemn league of eternal justice, to accredit the purity of a conscience washed in his own atrocities. He has promised and betrayed—he has sworn and forsworn—and whether his soul shall go to heaven or to hell he seems altogether indifferent, for he tells you that he has an established interest in both. He has told you that he has pledged himself to treason and to allegiance, and that both oaths he has contemned and broken: At this time, when Reason is affrighted from her seat, and giddy prejudice takes the reins—when the wheels of society are set in conflagration by the rapidity of their own

motion—at such a time does he call upon a jury to credit a testimony blasted by his own accusation. Vile, however, as this execrable informer must feel himself, history, alas ! holds out too much encouragement to his hopes ; for, however base, and however perjured, I recollect few instances in cases between the subject and the Crown, where informers have not cut keen and role awhile triumphant on public prejudice. I know of few instances wherein the edge of his testimony has not been fatal, or only blunted by the extent of its executions, and retiring from the public view beneath a heap of its own carnage. *I feel, Gentlemen of the Jury, that I ought to beg pardon of Mr. Reynolds ; I do beg his pardon ; for I frankly confess that I have no reason, no authority whatever, for placing him in this point of view, but his own self-accusation.*”

[The above abusive piece of scurrility is the precious jewel in the reptile’s head, for which Mr. W. H. Curran and Mr. Howell have repudiated that speech, in the general correctness of which Mr. Curran himself silently acquiesced for nineteen years. Mr. W. H. Curran, in his Memoirs, promised to give some extracts from *a shorter* but much more correct speech* than that usually attributed to Mr. Curran. The only extract he gave was the above rhapsody. Mr. Howell stated that Mr. W. H. Curran had obligingly furnished him with the parts

* How a shorter report of a speech can be much more correct than a longer one it is difficult to comprehend, unless Mr. W. H. Curran means to imply that the parts omitted in the shorter speech were not delivered by the speaker at all.

omitted, that is to say, with the remainder of the speech. If this were Mr. Curran's speech, he abandoned every charge against Mr. Reynolds but what arose out of his own acknowledgment of his conduct towards the United Irishmen. Yet it appears by the evidence that he placed the greatest reliance upon the testimony of Mr. O'Connor and the Messrs. Witherington. From this supposed speech, it would appear that Mr. Curran's line of defence was an admission that Mr. Bond was a United Irishman, but that he was ignorant of the real designs of the party, and only pledged to Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform,—a line of defence which was not only totally incompatible with the written evidence, but which would, in fact, amount to a plea of guilty. From these circumstances, as well as from the total absence of all comment upon the written evidence, or of any statement as to the character, former conduct, and position in society of the prisoner, or of the manner in which the character of the witness was to be impeached by evidence, it is apparent, that this was not the speech delivered by Mr. Curran. It is probable, however, that this speech was written by him; the sentences are in general carefully rounded, much too carefully for an extemporaneous composition; the absence also of all repetition, and the careful selection of the expressions, all smell of the closet. Mr. Curran was dissatisfied with his reported speeches: his son states that he was at one time about to write his own life, the probability is that Mr. Curran had at some period commenced the revision of his speeches for that purpose, and, using that

license in reporting himself which his son tells us he was accustomed to do,—namely, not only to report what he had said, “but what he had not said, but might have said,” had it occurred to him; in pursuance of this habit, Mr. Curran may have begun “to correct” his speech in defence of Oliver Bond, and have left it incomplete: this supposition would account for the omission of so many material circumstances. Mr. W. H. Curran, finding this “corrected specimen,” thought it too valuable and too pungent to be lost. He tried the effect of a part of it in his own work, and, finding it take, he prevailed upon his tool Howell to publish the whole. Mr. W. H. Curran tells us that his father “advanced a favourite anecdote by an endless variety of unpremeditated ‘*ad libitum*’ graces.” The “*ad libitum*” graces were certainly not spared in the above composition. The following appears to have been intended as the opening of Mr. Curran’s Memoirs by himself: it does not appear that the work was advanced any further than the opening, and perhaps the above correction of Bond’s defence.

“You that purpose to be the historian of yourself, go first and trace out the boundary of your grave. Stretch forth *your* hand and touch the stone that is to mark *your* head, and swear by the majesty of death that *your* testimony shall be true, unwarped by prejudice, unbiased by favour, and unstained by malice; so mayest *thou* be a witness not unworthy to be examined before the awful tribunal of that time, which cannot begin until *you* shall have been numbered with the dead.” When Mr.

Curran called to mind the above correction of his speech in defence of Bond, he probably felt that he could not *take the prescribed test*, for he never proceeded any further with his own Memoirs.* The substituted speech concluded thus.]

“ Gentlemen of the Jury, you have been emphatically called upon to secure the State by a condemnation of the prisoner. I am less interested in the condition and political happiness of this country than you are; for probably I shall be a shorter while in it. I have then the greater claim on your attention and your confidence, when I caution you against the greatest and most fatal revolution—that of the sceptre into the hands of the informer. These are probably the last words I shall ever speak to you; but these last are directed to your salvation and that of your posterity,

* The particular animosity that Mr. Curran manifested towards my father was not, as some have imagined, the result of “honest indignation,” but of disappointed ambition. He was a United Irishman, but too clever to commit himself publicly: he was only to have come forward to share the good things in case of success: he was one of that class of United Irishmen “who did not choose to be hanged.” This fact has entirely escaped the notice of his biographer. In the Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone, we find this passage, “I know that in 1794 and 1795, and particularly at the Drogheda Assizes in the former year, and on occasion of the trial of Bird and Hamill, when they were both, (Mr. Curran and Mr. Tone,) employed as counsel, John Philpot Curran opened his mind to my father, and that *on the main point, on the necessity of breaking the connexion with England, they agreed*; Curran avoided committing himself in the councils of the United Irishmen, *but, had the project of liberating Ireland succeeded, he would have been among the foremost to hail and join her independence.*” See the Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone, vol. ii. p. 253. (Note by the Editor.)

when they tell you that the reign of the informer is the suppression of the law. My old friends, I tell you that, if you surrender yourselves to the mean and disgraceful instrumentality of your own condemnation, you will mark yourselves fit objects of martial law—you will give an attestation to the British minister that you are unfit for, and have no expectation of, any other than martial law—and your liberties will be flown, never, never to return. Your country will be desolated, or only become the gaol of the living; until the informer, fatigued with slaughter and gorged with blood, shall slumber over the sceptre of perjury. No pen shall be found to undertake the disgusting office of your historian, and some future age shall ask what became of Ireland? Do you not see that the legal carnage which takes place day after day has already depraved the feelings of your wretched population, which seems impatient and clamorous for the amusement of an execution? It remains with you, in your determination it lies, whether that population shall be alone composed of four species of men,—the informer to accuse, the jury to find guilty, the judge to condemn, and the prisoner to suffer. It regardeth not me what impressions your verdict shall make on the fate of this country; but you it much regardeth. The observations I have offered, the warning I have held forth, I beseech you with all the solemnity of a *dying bequest*; and, oh, may the acquittal of your accused fellow-citizen, who takes refuge in your verdict from the vampire that

sucks his blood, be a blessed and happy promise of speedy peace, confidence, and security to this wretched, distracted, and self-devouring country !”

The allusions which Mr. Curran made to himself in the above conclusion are perfectly inexplicable upon the supposition that this speech was spoken in 1798 :—there can be no doubt that this effusion was an exercise of the imagination at a much later period. I have already observed that it matters nothing, with respect to the guilt or innocence, the honour and integrity, or the disgrace and infamy of Mr. Reynolds, which of these two speeches was the original. Mr. Curran well observed, in 1796, “that the statement of counsel is not evidence.” The verdict of the public, like that of the jury, should, in Mr. Curran’s own words I say it, be “founded simply upon the evidence.” In the language of another eminent lawyer, I say “that much is allowable to counsel in defence of the accused : it may be commendable to them to recur to, and make use of, topics however remotely connected, which may contribute to their success in the sacred duty which they have undertaken, and particularly if the case shall not admit of any defence.” But this privilege extends only to the actual defence. It cannot justify the use of such means for the purpose of exciting or continuing a prejudice against a witness twenty years after the event which first called them forth ; still less can it justify the fabrication of an address that never was spoken, and the substitution of that address in a book

which ought to be of authority, for the original reported speech of counsel*. The publication of this rhapsody following upon the revival of these refuted and forgotten slanders by Sir Francis Burdett and his two coadjutors in parliament, and the use that has since been made of it, cited in popular works as a brilliant specimen of Irish forensic eloquence †, have made it to be the chief source from which the little that is known in England of Mr. Reynolds has been derived, and led

* Mr. Curran, when addressing the jury in defence of Finnerty, who was tried and convicted for a libel in 1796, said: "I will only ask you what men you must be supposed to be, when it is thought that even in a court of justice, and with the eyes of the nation upon you, you can be the dupes of that trite and exploded expedient, so scandalous of late in this country, of raising a vulgar and mercenary cry against whatever man, or whatever principle it is thought necessary to put down?" Trite and exploded as that expedient was, the friends of the United Irishmen, led by Sir Francis Burdett, the bosom friend and public vindicator of Arthur O'Connor, were not ashamed to put it in practice against a defenceless man; but I trust that the people of England in the present day are not the men to be the dupes of an expedient "trite and exploded" in benighted Ireland in 1796.

† Mr. Charles Philips in his "Specimens of Irish Eloquence," has published a part of this speech—and forgetting that, as a barrister, justice and truth should be his motto, he has called it "the Character of Reynolds." It certainly is well placed among Mr. Philips's "Specimens," for I question if the records of Billingsgate, which afford such rich specimens of Irish eloquence, could furnish such a collection of foul language. Mr. Philips expected doubtless to gain a little more applause of the mob, or to sell a few more copies of his book. The same article was also inserted in the *Sun* newspaper, and one or two other journals of the like *respectable* character, after my father was beyond the reach of their insults; if, indeed, a "pack" of mercenary scribblers could have insulted him. During his whole life he considered their abuse the highest honour, and praise from them would have been the grossest insult they could have offered him. (Note of the Editor.)

the people of England to form their opinions of Mr. Reynolds from this imaginary description of him, instead of judging him by the evidence. Hence the necessity of the task which I have undertaken. I have been anxious to induce the English public to read the charges brought against Mr. Reynolds, with the evidence adduced in support of those charges, in the confident belief that nothing more is required to remove from the minds of all unprejudiced persons the impressions which the speeches of Sir Francis Burdett and others, and that falsely attributed to Mr. Curran, has made upon their minds relative to Mr. Reynolds's moral character and conduct.

CHAPTER XI.

A summary of the evidence produced on the trials—Mr. Reynolds could not have been the agent of Government—Proved by the scantiness of the information he gave—By the circumstances attending Mr. Arthur O'Connor's acquittal at Maidstone—Mr. Moore accuses Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and other leading Whigs of misprision of treason—Sir Francis Burdett's panegyric of Mr. O'Connor—Mr. O'Connor's letter to his brother, and to Lord Edward Fitzgerald—The destruction of Mr. Reynolds's property proves, that he could not at that time have been known to Government—Some facts relating to the execution of M'Can and Byrne—Lords Chichester and Camden's letters to Mr. Reynolds—Mr. Reynolds receives the freedom of the Guild of Merchants, and of the city of Dublin—He goes to Allonby—Receives a pension, and returns to Dublin—The Irish Government urge him to quit Ireland—He yields to their wishes, and goes to London.

1798 to 1800.

FROM the preceding pages it will be seen that there was no foundation whatever for the various moral offences imputed to my father. Few individuals ever underwent so fiery an ordeal as he did ; still fewer have passed through so unscathed. The importance of the stake at issue—no less than the fate of a conspiracy, which had taken eight years gradual and cautious preparation to bring to the point of breaking out, with every prospect of success ; of a conspiracy which, had it succeeded, would have shaken the Empire of Great Britain to its foundation ; of a conspiracy in which many of the most able and influential men in Ireland were more or less involved, and trembling at the conse-

quences of discovery and exposure, led to the adoption of every means of destruction against the man who had *laid open the secret counsels of the confederates, and defeated their well-laid plans.* Assassination was first resorted to. The pistol and the dagger were tried in vain. Delation was then adopted, and my father was delivered into the hands of the military, in the hope that he would perish by the rapid process of military law. The result of that attempt having been to compel him to seek protection in the ranks of government, the last resource was tried; his private character was attacked, with the view to render his name so despicable as to make it impossible for any jury to convict on his evidence. For that purpose, his private life, from his earliest boyhood, was carefully inquired into; every circumstance which the most inquisitorial research among his family connexions, his mercantile correspondents, and dependents, and his personal, or household servants, could elicit, was carefully collected; every person whom the activity or influence of a powerful faction, tremblingly alive to its own danger, and utterly reckless as to the nature of the means of preservation, could prevail upon, by political, or religious fanaticism, or private pique, to appear, was produced as a witness against him: and the result of the whole, which is now before the reader, was a very limited collection of scandalous imputations, so trivial in themselves, so totally unsupported by anything but the most barefaced perjury, as to have put to the blush the very counsel who were instructed to state them, and to have been contemptuously scouted both by

judges and jurors. The only feelings which these imputations excited at the time in Dublin were of mingled *astonishment and contempt, at the utter baseness and folly of those who could be found to lend themselves to support them.*

Much misapprehension exists both as to the nature and extent of my father's connexion with the Society of United Irishmen, and as to the amount of information which he gave to government, and the time when he gave it. A short summary of what may be collected from the evidence in the preceding trials, aided by a reference to historical facts, and documents prepared by himself, will materially aid the reader in coming to a correct conclusion upon the position in which he was placed, and upon the propriety of his conduct under the circumstances.

It has been observed by an eminent lawyer*, that "a man may be involved in the guilt of conspiring or treason, and retrieve himself nobly by making atonement to his country and his God, by a fair and full confession of the crime." But while my father might have justified his conduct upon Lord Plunkett's plea of making atonement for previous treason by subsequent repentance and confession, he had infinitely higher grounds of justification in the political history of his native land, for joining a society professing to seek legitimate objects by means already sanctioned in practice by the highest authorities ; and for subsequently quit-

* Mr. Plunkett, counsel for Mr. Henry Shears, afterwards Attorney-General, and now Lord Chancellor for Ireland.

ting that society, and taking an active part in its suppression, when it abandoned those legitimate objects.

Governed as a conquered country for many generations, Ireland had only lately recovered a shadow of independence by means of an armed association. The partial reform which was effected in 1782, by which the nominal independence of her Parliament, and a limited freedom of trade were obtained, was effected by the volunteers assembled in arms under Lord Charlemont. But more than four-fifths of the population still groaned under oppressive and tyrannical penal statutes, imposed to govern men's consciences, as if man had any right to interfere between his fellow-man and the Great Creator and Preserver of all. The successful issue of that armed coalition of all classes of Irish subjects against the law in 1782, a coalition which, had it failed, would have been called rebellion, and have brought its leaders to the scaffold, was still fresh in the memories of the people, and the Roman Catholics, not unnaturally, looked to obtain emancipation from the Egyptian bonds which bound them, by those means which the law had not condemned in their Protestant brethren. Roman Catholic Associations, for obtaining mitigations of the penal code, had existed since the middle of the eighteenth century, and many alterations favourable to the Roman Catholics had from time to time been obtained through their exertions; but in 1792 the members of that communion still laboured under many severe legal disabilities, rendered ten-fold more oppressive by the manner in which they were enforced, and the practical continu-

ance of many which had been theoretically removed. A small party, consisting chiefly of Protestants, had embraced the doctrines which in France sent the King to the scaffold, and the nobility and gentry into exile. They had formed themselves into a society for extending their influence, and propagating their opinions, but they made little comparative progress until an ill-advised Act of Parliament declared associations similar to theirs to be illegal, and drove them to veil their projects and their proceedings in the profoundest secrecy. These persons held out to the public that their only objects were Catholic Emancipation, and Reform in Parliament, to be brought about by promoting a union of all religious persuasions; and hence they called themselves the Society of United Irishmen. From the first they made no secret of their intention to extort those objects, if necessary, by an armed demonstration, similar to that which had been successful eight years before. The Convention Bill, to which I have alluded above, broke up the Catholic Convention, and the Roman Catholics, having then no legal mode of assembling to lay their grievances before the throne and legislature, were but too willing to join a society which held out a prospect of relief, by methods which their experience had not taught them to be treasonable. Many persons of that persuasion joined the society of United Irishmen, with no other object or intention than Catholic Emancipation.

My father was of a family of considerable weight and distinction, among the Roman Catholics in Dublin, and

very extensively connected with the principal families of that persuasion in all parts of Ireland. His father had been a member for the city of Dublin in the old Catholic committee under Lord Fingal. He died in 1788; and my father, then a youth of seventeen, was immediately chosen a member of that committee in his place, more as a mark of respect to his family, than for the sake of any service he could render the cause at that early age. My father continued a member of that committee until the secession of Lord Fingal, when he retired, but was re-elected by the Roman Catholics of Dublin, and continued to sit in the Roman Catholic Convention until its dispersion on the passing of the Convention Bill. From that period he remained in retirement, taking no part in politics, until the year 1797, when his attention was drawn, in common with that of all Ireland, to the plans and projects of the Society of United Irishmen. I have thought it necessary to premise thus much, that the reader may understand the position which he occupied previously to the period at which the evidence in the preceding trials commences.

At that period my father was only in his twenty-seventh year. Most of his family and connexions had been drawn in to join the Society of United Irishmen in the interval between the dispersion of the Catholic Convention in 1795, and the latter part of 1796; and he was strongly and repeatedly urged, as the head and representative of his father's ancient house, to take the same course. His house of business had been in connexion with Mr. Oliver Bond a great many years, and

that gentleman, from his long connexion with my father's family in matters of business, from his station in the mercantile and political world, and from his much more advanced age, possessed great influence over him. Mr. Bond had been a leader among the United Irishmen from the foundation of the society. Mr. Peter Sullivan, who had been brought up by my grandfather, and placed in the counting-house, where a long course of faithful, active, and intelligent services had gradually raised him to be the head and confidential clerk and cashier, was about ten years older than my father, and long familiarity, joined to his confidential situation, had accustomed my father to consult with him on every matter of interest. Sullivan was a Roman Catholic, and had become a United Irishman.

Urged on all sides to join an association, which was represented to him, as to all the uninitiated, to have only in view the abolition of all religious disabilities, my father at last consulted with Sullivan, who admitted himself to belong to the society, and said, that in his opinion it was safe and prudent to take the oath, and advised him to do so. My father then yielded to the solicitations of his family and friends, and was admitted a United Irishman by Mr. Oliver Bond, at the house of that gentleman, in the presence of Mr. Richard Dillon.

When a new member was admitted a United Irishman he first read the declaration and test—he was then required to take the test. The object of first reading

the declaration and test was, that every member should know that which he undertook before he finally and irredeemably pledged himself by taking the test. I have inserted the declaration, resolutions, and test, which formed the constitution of this association in 1797, at length, in the Appendix, from a printed document found upon James Quigley, who was tried at Maidstone with Arthur O'Connor, in 1798. The first article of the constitution, which formed the principal part of the declaration, was in the following terms :—

“ This society is constituted for the purpose of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, a communion of rights, and a union of power among Irishmen of every religious persuasion, and thereby to obtain a complete reform in the Legislature, founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty.”

This constitution was based upon three resolutions embodied in the declaration. They were in the following terms :—

Resolved,—“ That the weight of English influence in the government of this country is so great as to require a cordial union among all the people of Ireland, to maintain that balance which is essential to the preservation of our liberties, and the extension of our commerce.”

“ That the sole constitutional mode by which this influence can be opposed is by a complete and radical reform of the representation of the people in Parliament.”

“ That no reform is practicable, efficacious, or just, which shall not include Irishmen of every religious persuasion.”

Such were the openly avowed principles and designs of the United Irishmen ; and such was the declaration of his principles, which every new member was required to make before he was allowed to take the test.

Previous to the passing of the Convention Bill there was no oath of secrecy attached to the test. That law declared all meetings of the people, by delegation, illegal. It was particularly aimed at the Catholic Convention, which shortly before had, in defiance of the Irish government, sent a deputation to England to lay their grievances at the foot of the throne,—a measure which led to considerable nominal relaxations of the Penal Code, accompanied by the Convention Bill. The Society of United Irishmen, being essentially a society of delegates, on this occasion added an oath of secrecy to the test, to protect themselves from the consequences of the Convention Bill. A test was prepared embracing the substance of the resolutions and declaration, and ending with an oath of secrecy, to be taken by every new member after reading the declaration and constitution. It was in the following words :—

“ In the awful presence of God.”

“ I, A. B., do voluntarily declare, that I will persevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among Irishmen of every religious persuasion ; and that I will also persevere in my endeavours to

obtain an equal, full, and adequate representation of all the people of Ireland ‘in Parliament*.’ I do further declare that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or punishments, shall ever induce me, directly or indirectly to inform on, or give evidence against any member or members of this or similar societies, for any act, or expression of theirs done or made, collectively or individually, in or out of this society, *in pursuance of the spirit of this obligation.*”

It is apparent that there was nothing in this declaration or test at all incompatible with the firmest loyalty to the King, and the utmost devotion to the Constitution. Nor can it be held that the man who took this test bound himself to any thing but Catholic Emancipation and Reform in Parliament. He was not bound by the letter or the spirit of this oath to conceal, still less to promote an invasion of his Country by a foreign foe, the massacre of his friends, or the dethronement of his Sovereign. But the oath once taken, the new member once pledged and initiated, retreat became next to impossible, whatever might be the treasonable plans laid open to him. He was surrounded by men, all equally interested in preserving the secret. His superiors in the society were unknown to him, those whom he met in his own limited club were alone personally known to him ; thousands of secret daggers were ready to obey

* These words were afterwards omitted in the test, although they were preserved to the last in the declaration. It was said that this was done to lead the people gradually to lose sight of the Parliament, and prepare them for a complete change in the national form of government.

the slightest signal from that directory, to whom all were known, though enveloped in impenetrable darkness themselves. Independently of these considerations, the projects occasionally discussed in the lower societies, appeared so absurdly extravagant, and the means of execution so inadequate, that they were listened to by most men, more as the extravagant effusions of heated imaginations, than as serious designs. The total failure of the French expedition under Hoche, in the end of 1796, which remained on the coast of Ireland and in Bantry Bay for several days, and not only was not joined by a single United Irishman, but caused men of all parties and persuasions to unite in preparations to repel them, proved incontestably that the criminal projects of a few leading men had not then contaminated the masses. My father joined the Society with the views clearly expressed in the declaration and test : he was deputed immediately from a simple society to a baronial committee, that he might associate with persons nearer to his own station in life ; but he advanced no further in Dublin. He attended a few of their meetings in February, March, and April, in the year 1797, where, as he stated in his evidence, he heard Mr. Oliver Bond, and others make, what appeared to him to be extravagant and absurd propositions, leading, however, if serious, to treason and rebellion. These meetings had so little attraction for him, and the projects disclosed seemed so little likely to lead to any result in accordance with his views, that he gradually ceased to attend them ; and removed into the country in the early part of the

summer. The societies of the United Irishmen generally dispersed and broke up in the summer of 1797, but they were renewed in the autumn. My father's connexion with them, although suspended by his removal into the country, had not been avowedly at an end. He was well known to be possessed of much influence among the Catholics in the city of Dublin, and to be extensively and highly connected in the county of Kildare, where he had recently purchased an estate, and he was known to many to be a United Irishman; among others, to one Hugh Wilson, a man high in the confidence of the heads of the Association. The unfortunate Lord Edward Fitzgerald, with whose family my father was connected through his mother, was one of the most active among the leaders of the United Irishmen. At this time he held the rank of colonel of a regiment of the United Irishmen, in the county of Kildare, called the Regiment of Kilkea and Moone, from the name of the barony in which it was raised. My father's seat, Kilkea Castle, lay in the same barony. In the month of November my father met Lord Edward Fitzgerald walking with Hugh Wilson, and was induced, as already stated, by his lordship's urgent request, seconded by the advice of Mr. Oliver Bond, to accept the post of Colonel for the Barony of Kilkea and Moone. There were two reasons which probably made Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Mr. Bond, who were both protestants, very eager to secure my father's co-operation. Kilkea Castle, his country seat, in the county of Kildare, was an

ancient baronial castle, of considerable strength, the possession of which would have been of consequence, in case of insurrection; indeed, on this account it was afterwards garrisoned by the king's troops, and served as a depôt and place of refuge during the subsequent rebellion. No more obvious way of securing it could well be devised, than to make its owner and occupier the commander of several hundred men, armed and associated in its vicinity. My father also professed the Roman Catholic faith; his family and connexions were generally of that persuasion, and he possessed considerable hereditary influence among the population of Dublin belonging to that communion. About this time the English Government held out hopes of conciliatory measures to the Roman Catholics, and the leaders of the United Irishmen had already felt the effects of those hopes in the general falling off from their ranks of the Roman Catholic United Irishmen. On this subject Arthur O'Connor wrote to Lord Edward from London, in the following month of February, in these words:—"It is said, that Lord Fitzwilliam is going over to Ireland, and that great hopes are entertained of separating the Catholics from the Union. This will be your and every honest man's business to prevent; and although a few of the old committee patriots should attempt it, the people are most honest." These well-grounded fears of the probable effect of conciliation, made it desirable that every means should be adopted to induce influential men among the Roman Catholics to commit themselves past

recall. These two circumstances may explain the desire shown by Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Mr. Head to prevail upon my father to plunge deeply and irrevocably into the confederacy, before he could be aware of its full extent and power. On the other hand, my father's compliance arose from his disinclination to disoblige the son of the nobleman who was looked upon as the feudal head and chieftain of his mother's family, under whom he held his estate; his deference to the old friend of his father, and his unwillingness to decline taking a part in a cause which all his family and connexions favoured and supported; as well as to an impression, which his previous experience of the extravagance of the projects, and apparent inadequacy of the means of execution of the United Irishmen led him to form, that the whole scheme was little more than idle talk, without consistency and without probable result. He returned to the country, and heard no more of the United Irishmen or their projects until the middle of February in the following year.

In the middle of February, 1798, Matthew Kennaa called upon my father at Kilkea Castle. He told him that Lord Edward Fitzgerald had communicated to the Baronial Committee for Kilkea and Moone that he intended to withdraw from the command of their regiment, but that he had arranged with my father to take his appointment, and Kennaa said that the purpose of his call was to know if my father was willing to serve as their colonel if elected. My father replied that having promised Lord Edward Fitzgerald that he would,

he was ready to fulfil his promise. But Kennaa added that if my father was their colonel, he must also, according to the constitution, be either their secretary or their treasurer, and he asked him which office he chose to hold, informing him that Lord Edward had been their treasurer. My father replied that Lord Edward had not informed him of that circumstance, nor was he aware of it: that it was leading him to take a much more active part than he had promised Lord Edward, or intended to take. But Kennaa said, that although, at Lord Edward's desire, they were willing to waive my father's personal attendance at his election, and all other troublesome preliminaries, they could not dispense with the express provision of their Constitution, by which their colonel was necessarily one of their officers, and one of their deputies to the County Committee. My father having passed his word to Lord Edward, and fearing to put his lordship to much inconvenience, and disoblige his own kinsmen if he now retracted, at last consented, and said that he would be their treasurer, as the least troublesome office, and that which had been previously held by Lord Edward. Kennaa called upon my father again in a few days, and told him that he had been elected treasurer and colonel, and that the County Committee would meet on the Curragh of Kildare on the following Sunday, the 18th of February, where his attendance would be required. Up to this period my father had attended no meetings of the United Irishmen since the month of April in the preceding year, and knew no more of the plans and inten-

tions of the leaders than he had learnt previous to that time. He as yet had no reason to think that their projects, however violent and even treasonable in the eye of the law, were less visionary, speculative, or impracticable than at that time. He was, however, now about to be undeceived; he was about to be admitted to the councils of the leaders. He attended the county meeting on the 18th of February, and was there informed that Lord Edward Fitzgerald had also been treasurer of that committee, and in that character one of its representatives in the Provincial Committee—the highest body then known to the society, after the Directory. My father was told that, as Lord Edward's *locum tenens*, he must take upon himself the office of treasurer, lately held by his Lordship, and be delegated to the Provincial Committee in Dublin. It appears that two persons of the names of Cummins and Daly were elected, and deputed with him. Immediately after the election, the outgoing secretary informed my father that the Provincial Committee was appointed to meet on the following day, when important business was to be discussed. Mr. Cummins then took my father aside. Cummins had already represented the County Committee in the Provincial, and by way of preparing his new colleague for the business of the morrow, disclosed to him circumstances which afterwards appeared before the Privy Council. He informed him that the confederacy extended over the whole of the provinces of Leinster, Ulster, and part of Munster, and that about 300,000 men were organised and armed, and ready at the first

signal to rise in open rebellion ; that the intention of the leaders of the society was to separate Ireland from Great Britain, and to establish a republic on the model and under the protection of the French Republic ; that every necessary preparation was made ; and that the business of the Provincial Committee on the morrow was to determine the day for giving the signal for insurrection, provided they then received the orders of the Directory not to wait the arrival of the French. He then informed my father that, to insure the immediate success of the insurrection, it was thought necessary to begin by securing the persons of the principal members of the King's Government, and the leading supporters of that Government in Dublin, and he said that most of the servants of the noblemen and gentlemen, a list of whose names, to the number of about eighty, he produced, were United Irishmen, and prepared to seize, and if necessary to assassinate their masters, whenever the order should be given ; and that the murder of some of the most obnoxious of these noblemen and gentlemen and the seizure of the persons of others—accompanied by an attack upon the strong places in the city of Dublin, was to be the signal for insurrection, the final adoption of which, and to fix the day for its execution, was the special business of the morrow. Now, for the first time, my father had reason to believe that the plans which he had formerly heard discussed in the lower committees—plans which he and others of his class considered to be the wild and visionary dreams of excited and intemperate imaginations, were really and

truly the deeply-laid designs of able and artful men, long and silently prepared and perfected, and now upon the eve of execution. He felt that he had been deceived and artfully involved in this tremendous conspiracy by Lord Edward Fitzgerald. That nobleman had asked *him to hold the office of colonel only; he had said nothing of the successive offices of treasurer to the Baronial and County Committees, and the consequent delegation to the Provincial, which at once made him a leader in the conspiracy, subordinate only to the Directory.* Upon his subsequent arrival in Dublin, he found that Lord Edward had still further deceived him; the necessity for his Lordship's retirement to the continent for a season had vanished; he found his Lordship residing openly with his wife at Leinster House.

Struck with surprise and horror at these communications, my father had no time for consideration. He knew that the slightest apparent hesitation after such fearful communications made to him, probably in the belief that the chosen substitute of Lord Edward Fitzgerald must be well prepared to expect such disclosures, would be instantly fatal to himself; yet he also felt that he could not and would not lend his aid or concurrence to schemes not only so iniquitous, but so completely opposed to his own principles, and to the interests of the faith which he professed, and so replete with ruin and desolation to his country. Catholic Emancipation and Reform in Parliament were strictly in accordance with kingly government; and although these objects might not have been attainable without an armed demonstration of phy-

sical power, the results of a similar armed interference of the people at Duncannon in 1782 had not taught the Irish to consider such means of obtaining constitutional reform as criminal, although the law might call them treasonable. Reflections like these passed through his *mind much more rapidly than I can write them*. To gain time for consideration he resolved to excuse himself from attending the meeting of the morrow, and to proceed to Dublin on the following day. Fortunately for him, Mr. Cummins could not conveniently go to Dublin to attend the proposed meeting; both therefore excused themselves on the plea of the distance, and the lateness of the hour at which the County Committee broke up, and my father returned to Kilkea.

On his arrival in Dublin, two days afterwards, my father used every means in his power to induce the leaders to abandon their designs: but finding that all his attempts were useless, and only tended to rouse such suspicions against him as would probably cost him his life, (as was but too clearly manifested by Neilson's threatening language*) he availed himself of the opening which his journey to Corbettstown afforded, and gave Mr. Cope information of the meeting to be held at Oliver Bond's house on the following 12th of March, in the manner and on the conditions already detailed.†

My father's object was to prevent the breaking out of the insurrection by the arrest or dispersion of the leaders, in the expectation that Government, having no

* Vol. I. page 198.

† Vol. I. page 204, et seq.

evidence against the persons who might be arrested, would be compelled to set them at liberty again after a short confinement. As to himself, he proposed to withdraw for a time to England, as soon as my mother's recovery from her approaching confinement would permit; for which purpose he proposed to draw on Mr. Cope for five hundred guineas, to enable him to make the necessary preparations for his departure with expedition, and to pay the additional expense his temporary absence would occasion. The reader has seen what little importance was attached to this circumstance even by the counsel for the prisoners. My father's position in society, and his pecuniary means, were too well known in Dublin, at the time of these trials, for even the counsel for the prisoners to venture seriously to impute impropriety to this transaction.

After giving this information to Mr. Cope, my father saw no more of the persons engaged in the conspiracy than was necessary to prevent suspicion falling upon him, and to ascertain correctly the time and place of the approaching meeting of the Provincial Committee. That meeting was arrested, and the insurrection thereby postponed for two months. It finally broke out in May, and was only suppressed at the expense of so much bloodshed and devastation, although the scene of its violence was of limited extent, as plainly showed what dreadful consequences would have followed had it taken place under the original leaders, with their plans fully matured.

I will now call attention to some circumstances which

prove that my father could not by possibility have been the agent of Government ; that he was in fact entirely unknown to them, and that his proposed plan of defeating the designs of the Provincial Committee, without seriously endangering the ultimate safety of its members, was a scheme likely to be successful, and would have succeeded but for the subsequent conduct of the persons implicated. It must be remembered that my father was an unwilling partaker in any schemes extending beyond Catholic Emancipation and Reform in Parliament, but he was willing to endeavour to obtain those two objects by means of an armed demonstration similar to that of 1782, if they could not be otherwise obtained. That in this sense alone he was a member of what the law would call a traitorous conspiracy against the existing Government, but that recent example had not taught the people of Ireland to consider an armed intervention to obtain constitutional reforms, and freedom from the control of the British Government, treason. That having entered into a confederacy professing these views only, having pledged himself to these objects alone, he unexpectedly found himself required to take a prominent part in schemes which, if successful, would have trampled under foot that religion for whose sake he had joined the Association, and finally have subverted those liberties he was desirous of securing, by making Ireland dependent upon France during the continuance of the war with England, to be surrendered up to that power, bound hand and foot, at the first peace. If, under these circumstances, he com-

mitted an error in judgment, he had a strong claim to indulgence; but if he adopted the only course open to him as a man of honour, attached to his king and his country, under the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed, he is entitled to the approbation of every loyal and honourable man. I rest his justification upon the facts that he was an unwilling partaker in the conspiracy—that he had bound himself by an oath, which I admit to have been illegal, to the attainment of Catholic Emancipation and Reform in Parliament—that he had been deceived by Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Mr. Bond into taking a much more prominent part even in the promotion of those measures than he ever intended to take—that he was unexpectedly made acquainted with the full extent of the plans, and the means of execution, of the leaders of the Society of United Irishmen—that these designs, and the means of execution, were not only of the most atrocious description, but subversive of those very measures which he had solemnly sworn to exert himself to obtain—that he only had recourse to the step of calling in the aid of Government when all attempts on his part to delay or prevent the execution of those designs by other means had failed—and that the measures which he enabled the Government to take, sufficed to prevent the execution of those designs without compromising the ultimate safety of the parties arrested.

On the day before the arrest of the Provisional Committee my father called upon Lord Edward Fitzgerald for the purpose of inducing him to abstain from attend-

ing the meeting of the following day, and to conceal himself. He put into Lord Edward's hands a copy of orders issued to the Lawyers' Corps, and Lord Edward immediately attributed these orders to some project for his own arrest, and determined to take measures for his own safety. My father's object being thus attained he took leave of Lord Edward, refusing to remain for dinner. Lord Edward withdrew to a place of safety that night, and afterwards succeeded in avoiding arrest until the middle of May. On the following morning the Provincial Committee was arrested; but so scanty was the information given to Government, that the Secretary of State was unable to insert the names of the committee in the warrant. The warrant was general, to arrest all persons found at Mr. Bond's house; and the following names were inserted on speculation,—Oliver Bond, Henry Jackson, Hugh Jackson, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, John M'Can, and William James M'Nevin.* Of these persons, John M'Can alone was found at the meeting,—the others were not members of the Provincial Committee. With respect to Bond, the Secretary of State was informed that he was not a member of the Provincial Committee, and could not be present at its meetings. He was arrested in his own warehouse while attending to his customers. The Secretary of State caused all these men to be arrested upon suspicion only: my father's information, which

* See the evidence of W. B. Swann, Esq. on the trial of M'Can. State Trials, Vol. xxvii. page 427.

was strictly anonymous, merely stated that the designs of the Society of United Irishmen were treasonable; that they were ripe for execution; and that the leaders would be found assembled at Bond's house on the 12th of March, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon. The arrest of the leaders paralysed the conspiracy; the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act enabled the Secretary of State to keep those leaders in custody; but the Government possessed no evidence whatever of the nature or extent of the conspiracy, nor any means of connecting any of the prisoners with it, who must consequently have been liberated at the latest at the expiration of the Suspension Bill, had not subsequent events thrown my father into the hands of Government, and compelled him to give evidence against them.

The want of this evidence was a great source of alarm to the Administration. Had the prisoners been ultimately set at liberty without trial, which must have been the case had they not themselves, upon bare suspicion, delivered my father into the hands of the Government, the minister would have found it very difficult to justify himself to the British House of Commons for arbitrary measures, which would then have appeared to have provoked and justified the subsequent insurrection. The Irish Administration were so alive to this danger that Mr. Cope was authorised to offer honours and rewards to his unknown friend to any extent; and when my father was finally betrayed into the hands of Government he was again offered "carte

blanche ;” but he steadily refused every kind of personal advantage except personal protection from his former associates.

The circumstances attending the arrest and trial of Arthur O'Connor and James Quigley, at Maidstone in 1798, are strongly corroborative of the ignorance of the Government of all matters relating to my father, and of the scantiness of the information he gave them. It will be in the recollection of the reader that my father made his statement to Mr. Cope some time between the 20th and the 28th of February, “Midway between” as Mr. Curran put it.* Arthur O'Connor and James Quigley were arrested at Margate on the 28th of February, and a commission issued to try them for high treason on the 19th of March. Copies of the indictment and lists of the witnesses were furnished to them on the 17th of April, and their trial was fixed for the 30th of that month. The Secretary of State and the law officers of the Crown were in possession of all the information they obtained from my father previous to his arrest in May, *seven weeks before the 17th of April*; so that there was ample time to have made use of his evidence against O'Connor and Quigley at Maidstone had he been in the employment of Government or even known to them. The administration sent over from Dublin Mr. Oliver Carleton, the magistrate employed to search for Lord Edward Fitzgerald

* My father accompanied Mr. Cope to the country of Meath, on the 25th of February, and returned on the 26th: this information must, therefore, have been made to Mr. Cope on the 27th of February.

at Leinster House on the 12th of March, who produced letters and papers found at Leinster House and elsewhere, connecting O'Connor and Quigley with Lord Edward Fitzgerald ; but they had no evidence to prove that the business with which they had so connected O'Connor and Lord Edward Fitzgerald was a treasonable conspiracy,—a connecting link which my father could have been made to supply, had he been in the employment of the administration, or even personally known to them. *That they did not supply that connecting link which would have ensured the conviction of Arthur O'Connor, is the strongest presumptive proof that they could not ; that my father having told Mr. Cope just so much as enabled the administration to defeat the conspiracy by the arrest of the conspirators, had given them no further information, and was not personally known to them. But Arthur O'Connor's trial was postponed by consent until the 21st of May. In the mean time my father was taken into custody and brought to Dublin on the 7th of May, and examined before the privy council on the 8th. He then consented to join the government, and gave them the fullest information in his power. It was too late to use his evidence against O'Connor in England ; but anticipating his acquittal, the Secretary of State, the Duke of Portland, issued a warrant of detainer against O'Connor, and sent him over to Dublin. For resisting the execution of that warrant the Earl of Thanet and Mr. Ferguson were afterwards convicted of a misdemeanor. These are strong circumstances in the chain of evidence*

establishing the time when my father first came into personal connexion with Government, and the limited nature and extent of the information he had enabled Mr. Cope to give them in February.

The United Irishmen had been connected from the earliest period with various revolutionary societies in England and Scotland, and the places which the leaders in Ireland had from time to time proposed for procuring an invasion of Ireland from France, had generally been *suggested in conjunction with those societies.* Among those plans a simultaneous invasion of England and Ireland had been a favourite.

Mr. Moore, in his life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, states that, "In 1796, in order to enter into a formal treaty with the French Directory, it was thought of importance by the United Irishmen to send some agent whose station and character should, in the eyes of their new allies, lend weight to his mission; and to Lord Edward Fitzgerald the no less delicate than daring task was assigned. It being thought desirable, too, that he should have the aid, in his negotiations of the brilliant talents and popular name of Mr. Arthur O'Connor, they requested likewise the services of that gentleman, who consented readily to act in concert with his friend." About the latter end of May, 1796, Mr. Moore says, Lord Edward Fitzgerald proceeded on his embassy by way of London, where he dined in company with Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and the other leading Whigs, and to whom, says Mr. Moore, "If Lord Edward did not give some intimation of the object of his present journey,

such an effort of reserve and secrecy was, I must say, very unusual in his character." In this insinuation, that these Whig gentlemen were guilty of misprision of treason,* Mr. Moore is in some degree supported by an observation made by Mr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Plumer, who being of counsel for Arthur O'Connor at Maidstone, said, "If Mr. O'Connor had really entertained the sentiments contained in this paper, (the declaration, &c., of United Irishmen,) it could not have remained unknown to those who had constant opportunity of the most confidential intercourse with him." From London, it appears, that Lord Edward proceeded to Hamburgh, where he was joined by Arthur O'Connor. From thence these two gentlemen went to Basle, where they opened their negotiations with the French Directory, through the medium of the French agent Bartholomew. Lord Edward after a time left Mr. O'Connor

* Mr. Moore charges Fox with treasonable designs in much plainer terms. At page 165, he says, "It is well known that even Mr. Fox himself, impatient at the hopelessness of all his efforts to rid England, by any ordinary means, of a despotism which aristocratic alarm had brought upon her, found himself driven, in his despair of reform, so near that edge where revolution begins, that had there existed at that time, in England, anything like the same prevalent sympathy with the new doctrines of democracy, as responded throughout Ireland, there is no saying how far short of the daring aims of Lord Edward, even this great constitutional Whig leader might, in the warmth of his generous zeal, have ventured." Mr. Moore was employed in depicting Lord Edward Fitzgerald as a hero of romance; but, unable to disguise, even from himself, the treasonable designs of a proud, disappointed man, he has not hesitated to endeavour to reduce the great Whig leaders of that day to the level of his hero, by imputing to them a participation in the feelings, and almost in the designs of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

to carry on and complete the negotiation with the French general Hoche,—a negociation which led to the attempted invasion of Ireland in December, 1796, under the command of that general. On his return to Ireland after the failure of this expedition, Mr. O'Connor was arrested and confined for some months; but the Irish Government having no evidence to warrant his detention, he was admitted to bail. While in confinement, on the 23rd of March, 1796, a motion on the state of Ireland was made by Mr. Fox in the English House of Commons. On this occasion, Sir Francis Burdett, who has lately heaped such gross abuse upon Mr. O'Connell and the Irish Patriots of 1837, thus spoke of Arthur O'Connor:—"One person now immured within the walls of a dungeon in Dublin I have the honour to be connected with, (for honour as well as happiness I shall ever esteem it,) by the strongest ties of friendship and affection, whom I know to be as incapable of treason to his country, (Good God! that treason to Ireland and the name of O'Connor should be preposterously coupled together!) as he is capable of every thing that is great, generous, and noble for his country's good; a man whose conduct delineates the exact line of rectitude and honour; whose private virtues equal—they cannot surpass—the integrity of his public conduct; who is indeed endowed with every good as well as every great qualification, and of whom it may fairly be said:—*Nil non laudandum aut dixit, aut sensit, aut fecit.*"* Let the

* See Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, vol. xxxiii. p. 156.

reader now turn to Mr. Moore's insinuation of misprision of treason, and Sir 'Thomas Plumer's more legitimate deduction from the evidence, and say who ought to have stood at the bar of justice with O'Connor, if the historian and the lawyer are right.

Upon the trial of Arthur O'Connor and James Quigley, *certain letters were produced and read in evidence. Two of those letters were written by Arthur O'Connor : one was addressed to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and was found among his papers ; the other was written to Mr. Roger O'Connor, and found in his possession ; a third was written by James Quigley, and addressed to Lord Edward Fitzgerald. These letters clearly established a connexion between the parties. The letters are very extraordinary, and, taken in connexion with what is now known of the mighty conspiracy, so strongly indicate a knowledge of the schemes of the leaders of the United Irishmen, in a person hitherto unsuspected, that I feel compelled to insert them here, even at the expense of an apparent digression.*

In 1797, the Directory or Executive Committee consisted of the following five persons:—Lord Edward Fitzgerald, William James M'Nevin, Arthur O'Connor, Oliver Bond, and Thomas Addis Emmet. In the month of June, 1797, Doctor M'Nevin was despatched to France to press the despatch of succours. Mr. Moore says that M'Nevin found the French authorities fully disposed to second his most hostile views ; and a powerful armament was accordingly collected at the 'Texel. This expedition was first delayed by contrary winds, and

afterwards entirely stopped by the great naval victory off Camperdown. Meantime, James Quigley, an Irish Roman Catholic priest, had been actively engaged in carrying on the correspondence between the United Irishmen and the various revolutionary societies in England and Scotland. The simultaneous invasion of *England and Ireland* had long been a favourite scheme with some of the active leaders in both countries. Theobald Wolfe Tone has detailed several plans for that purpose, all of them remarkable for the diabolical atrocity of the means proposed for effecting a diversion in England in favour of rebellion in Ireland.* Upon the failure of the Texel expedition, this project was taken up with ardour by the Irish Executive Directory. The reader will recollect Lord Edward Fitzgerald's observation to my father on the 11th of March, which was given in evidence by him in Bond's case, "that if an attack was made on England at the same time with an invasion of Ireland, it would effectually prevent the Government of that country from sending forces there." To promote this double invasion, Arthur O'Connor and James Quigley were despatched to France in the beginning of 1798; Quigley bearing an invitation from the

* The invasion, the preparations for which are related by Tone, was the same which Mr. Arthur O'Connor and James Quigley were sent to hasten in January, 1798. The coolness and apparent satisfaction with which Tone relates the preparations making for destroying the city of Bristol, and massacring its inhabitants, prove that the savage atrocity which induced him to drink as a toast, "The spirit of the French mob to the people of Ireland" at Hamilton Rowan's house, in 1792, was not diminished in 1798. See Appendix No. 12, for a sample of that demoniac "Spirit."

English societies, earnestly inviting a speedy invasion of England. They lingered some weeks in London, being delayed by the embargo which was then laid upon all communications with the Continent, and were at length arrested, on the 28th of February, at Margate, endeavouring to procure a passage to France. Previous to departing upon this embassy, Arthur O'Connor made a transfer of his estates to Sir Francis Burdett, apparently to protect them from confiscation in the event of his arrest and conviction for treason, an object which, it appears probable, from the following letter, that Sir Francis Burdett was aware of. This letter was read in evidence against O'Connor, at Maidstone. I have copied it from Howell's State Trials.

“ London, February 13th, 1798.

“ MY DEAREST FRIEND,

“ I have sold all my property to Burdett, yet it may still go on in my name, and the rents are to be transmitted to Hugh Bell, No. 40, Charter-house Square. Sweeny said he would undertake to receive the rents, and after paying all the charges, transmit the remainder. There are 250*l.* to William; 50*l.* to T. Bullen; 42*l.* to the widow of Henry; and 36*l.* to the Miss Bullens and Wogan—making in all 378*l.* On receipt of this you will send for Burke, and see all his accounts, and tell him to pay the rents to Sweeny. Nothing can be more confused than his way of keeping accounts; I have over and over again given him a plan for keeping them, but he never could be brought to follow it. Let Sweeny

give him a book, and show him how he is to enter the accounts. I beg you will examine how his accounts stand, for I believe he does not even pay his own rents, which are considerable: out of the last half year I received but little. I beg you will lose no time in putting my affairs on the best footing: if you can sell the estate at Cork, Burdett will sign the Deed of Sale, as he has a deed from me. If this could be done it would be of great use; I could dispose of the money to the greatest advantage: all this I depend on your and Sweeny's exertions for. Your letters have gained you the greatest credit; no one that has not been struck with them. Burdett and I have written to you often, which from yours to him I find you never got. We ordered you "The Courier." As to the morning papers they are mere lumber in your office; so we did not send you more than "The Courier," as in "The Business of the Press" (a newspaper published in Dublin by Mr. O'Connor) we found it useless to have any other. I shall leave this to-morrow, so you will not hear from me for some time. I have heard of concessions, but I lay little stress upon them; if the people are true to themselves they must be free. Edward (Lord Edward Fitzgerald) will hear from me more regularly than you, and will tell you of me until we meet. Adieu, my ever dearest, ever and ever yours,

“ARTHUR O'CONNOR.

“P.S. Nothing can be worse than the state of finance here; they are alarmed to the heart; so much so, as to

plan desperate measures : Scotland and Irish all over. The people here give no opinion, though it is easy to learn they look for a change. I have just heard that the Government here have stopped a letter from France to Ireland, offering the Irish support ; it was told me by a courtier, and I believe it to be the case. Ever yours, my beloved friend,

“ A. O’C.

“ P.S. I send our dear friend a letter by the same mode I send this, as the Post Office stops them else.”

The above letter was addressed to Roger O’Connor, brother to Arthur O’Connor. The following letter was also read in evidence ; it was addressed by the same person to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and bearing nearly the same date, is probably the letter mentioned in the above postscript. It was found at Leinster House in Dublin, among Lord Edward’s papers. It was dated London, Feb. 14, 1798.

“ MY DEAR FRIEND,

“ I have had a letter written to you these ten days, and have not had an opportunity of sending it to you. You can’t conceive how it has vexed me not to be able to find a good, or indeed any way of getting Maxwell off ; he has been most active to try and get away from his creditors, but they so watch him, and the embargo by the enemy makes it so difficult, though I think he will be off in three days from this. It’s said that Lord Fitzwilliam is going over to Ireland, and that great hopes are entertained of separating the Catholics

from the Union. This will be your and every honest man's business to prevent ; * and although a few of the old committee patriots should attempt it, the people are most honest. I received both your letters, the one to Debretts and the one by the young men. I shall do all I can for them, and hope with effect in three days ; if that fails I will make it a point with Maxwell that *he* goes by Hamburgh : indeed he is in the greatest impatience to be off. The man of consideration here told me he had heard the Government here had intercepted a dispatch from France for Ireland, which promised great assistance. They are here in great consternation, the money and their commerce are very low. The black terrier and his little brother are very sorry curs ; the latter has become a land broker, and if I am rightly informed, has found the little priest and the sugar baker, and many others have sent him their money to lay out for them, and thus to have their agent they have been at work. Chevalier was the person who wrote to my friend to have nothing to do with Nicholson or her set, for that they had fallen into contempt from the appearance they cut. I send two copies of the pamphlet, but they must not be let out of the room ; you and Pamela read them in, until you hear from me, as otherwise I

* At the meeting of the Provincial Committee, held at Bond's house on the 19th of February, the following resolution was passed :—It probably had its origin in this letter. Resolved,—“ That we will pay no attention whatever to any attempts that may be made by either House of Parliament to divert the public mind from the grand object which we have in view, as nothing short of the complete emancipation of our country will satisfy us.”

should be in limbo: there is not one out here, nor will there until I can do it in safety. You can have an edition printed in Ireland. I shall send you one hundred copies for the instant: they are to be sold at three shillings and sixpence, and of course not to be given to any one that cannot be depended upon, to avoid prosecution. The instant I get to Williams you shall hear from me. I mean to be as active as I can. One of the copies are for Dowdall, and let him insert as much of it, or all of it, if he likes; he will observe the errata and the corrections. I have not words to tell you how much I am concerned at Pamela's illness, but I hope and trust she is getting better. I send you a letter for M^N. and leave it open that you may see it; you can seal it and send it to him, and send the money to Hugh Bell for me. Adieu, my dear friend: be discreet and on your guard. Yours,

“ Ever and most sincerely, A. O'C.

“ P.S. I have written to Emmet about your friend's bail. He has adjusted his fortune, so as that you nor he can be put to any inconvenience for want of the money being paid.”

A paper was found in O'Connor's dressing-case, from which it appeared, that the word “Williams” in the above letter meant France. Maxwell was said to mean himself; the friend, mentioned in the postscript, was also himself, and the adjustment of his fortune was clearly the nominal sale to Burdett. It would require a complete key to understand the whole; but enough

appears to show the general connexion between the parties. The following letter from Quigley to Lord Edward Fitzgerald was also found at Leinster House, and read in court at Maidstone :

“ Dublin, Jan. 14th, 1798.

“ Citizen,

“ You will please to remain at home to-morrow, as I intend to call upon you precisely at seven o'clock in the evening, to talk over that business of the letter, and other affairs of that business likewise.

“ JAMES COIGLEY.

“ To Citizen Fitzgerald,

“ Commonly called Lord Edward Fitzgerald.”

The connexion between the parties, and the common purpose they had in view, was clearly proved by these letters and by other circumstances; but what that common purpose was, and the connecting link between Lord Edward Fitzgerald and the United Irishmen was wanting : the proof of the nature of that common purpose and the connexion between Lord Edward Fitzgerald and the United Irishmen could have been supplied by my father. Is it credible that the Government would have abstained from producing that proof, had they possessed the means of bringing my father forward in time for the trial at Maidstone ? The ministry were constantly harassed in both Houses of Parliament, for their detention of O'Connor, and they would gladly have availed themselves of the earliest opportunity to justify themselves. No sooner were

they in possession of the extent of the evidence that my father could give, and of his consent to give it, than they hastened to avail themselves of it, by detaining O'Connor and sending him to Ireland, where his tardy confession fully justified the whole of their proceedings against him, and silenced his friends in Parliament.

Immediately after the arrests at Bond's my father had two interviews with Lord Edward Fitzgerald. As I intend to enter fully into that subject in my next chapter, I will merely remind the reader that those interviews were not sought by my father, and that they principally related to measures for the personal safety of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. My father then retired into the country, and attended a meeting of the county committee to deliver Lord Edward's letter and to resign his appointments. He attended a meeting of his captains on the following market-day at Naas, read them Lord Edward's letter, and never afterwards attended a meeting of United Irishmen, or held any communication with any of them upon the business of the confederacy.

He now employed himself actively in promoting the peace of the country : he addressed the assembled peasantry at different chapels on several occasions, and he used the influence which his family and connexions in the county gave him, to procure the surrender of arms and the peaceable submission of the people, so successfully as to attract the attention of the authorities. It was a singular feature of those unhappy times that the exertion of any influence in the prevention of crime was

considered a proof that the person using it possessed an improper influence. Persons were convicted of treason and rebellion, and executed upon no other evidence than that they had saved the lives or prevented the robbery of others. To such an extent was this abominable principle acted upon, that, on one occasion, a gentleman of undoubted loyalty was heard to exclaim, that he thanked God he had never attempted to save the life or property of any man ! These exertions drew upon my father the suspicions of Government ; he was thought to possess too *much influence for an innocent man, and it began to be rumoured abroad that Lord Edward Fitzgerald was concealed at Kilkea Castle, and that he was collecting arms there to make it a dépôt.* The usual method of punishing suspected persons was therefore put in force against my father. A troop of the 9th Light Dragoons, and a company of Militia, were sent to live at free-quarters at Kilkea Castle ; they remained there nine or ten days, and on their departure my father's steward produced vouchers for cattle, corn, hay, and straw, furnished to them to the amount of six hundred and thirty pounds. In addition to this, the officers lived at my father's table, keeping him a close prisoner to his room ; they and their friends drank his wine, and each soldier had one pint of wine served out to him daily from the well-stocked cellars. The spirits had been all destroyed, on the first day, on pretence of keeping the soldiers sober. The troops destroyed the whole of the furniture ; they plundered a valuable library, and converted a small but very valuable collection of pictures into targets for ball and

sabre practice ; and under pretence of searching for Lord Edward Fitzgerald, they tore up the flooring and panelling, and broke down the ceilings, converting the castle into a mere wreck. They also flogged and tortured my father's servants. Cornet Love, who was a remarkably tall and powerful man, suspended the steward over his shoulder, with his sash, until life was nearly extinct, to compel him to confess where Lord Edward was concealed. The troops remained while there was anything to consume or to destroy ; they then withdrew. Such was the reward my father received from the Irish Government for the information he gave them through Mr. Cope ; information which enabled them "to preserve the country from total ruin, massacre, and destruction." Can it be credited that any Government would so treat their own hired agent, or their avowed, but independent friend and preserver ? Is not the conclusion irresistible that at this time my father was unknown to Government ? * Meanwhile the leaders of the United Irishmen had not been idle. My father's endeavours to prevail on them to adopt less violent measures had rendered him suspected, and he had been threatened by Samuel Neilson. His non-attendance at the meeting of the 12th of March, and the manner in which he avoided the society of United

* Mr. Moore has the following observation at p. 12, vol. ii. of the *Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald* :—"How little sparing those in authority would have been of rewards, their prodigality to their present informer proved." The above visitation was the first instalment of their prodigality to my father.

Irishmen, increased their suspicions. A few days after the arrests Samuel Neilson met him in the street, and, accosting him, said, that Mrs. Bond wished very much to see him immediately : my father accompanied Neilson to her house. I have already given an account of the attempt then made to assassinate him.* But his conduct in the country in endeavouring to prevent disturbance, and promote good conduct and submission, while it drew down upon him the severities of Government, confirmed the suspicions of the United Irishmen ; and the provincial committee, who were instantly re-organised, by the election of new deputies in the place of those who had been arrested, or had fled, sent down one Michael Reynolds, who succeeded Cummins in the office of secretary to the county committee, to inform the county committee that my father was the person who had caused the arrests at Bond's, and directed that he should be put to death. The county committee first summoned him, in the usual manner, to attend a meeting ; he replied, that having resigned his command, and also his office of treasurer to the baronial committee of Kilkea and Moone, he was no longer a member of the county committee, and therefore declined to attend. They then

* Mr. Moore, finding this visit mentioned in the same document attached to the report of the secret committee, to which I have already alluded, speaks of it in the following terms :—" In the pursuance of this policy (preserving his incognito that he might the better betray), we find him, as he himself admits, paying a friendly visit to Mrs. Bond two or three days after he had marked her husband for death." Mr. Moore was probably ignorant of the real nature and object of the visit, but his ignorance was no justification of his malicious imputation.

sent him a summons, to attend on Monday, the 23rd of April, to take his trial upon charges sent down from the provincial committee. To this he made no answer, intending to set out on that day as if for the meeting, which was held half way between his house and Dublin, but to ride on to Dublin without stopping, and so avoid *them*; but in this he was prevented by the visit of the *soldiery*, who came to *Kilkea Castle on the Saturday* preceding, and placed him under arrest, keeping him a prisoner during their stay.

A day or two before the arrival of the soldiers, Murphy and Kennaa were sent to murder him. I have already detailed the particulars of that attempt: * I have also detailed the visit of the soldiery. † Upon their departure my father put the castle into what order he could, and set out for Dublin on horseback, but was deterred from going farther than Naas by Mr. Taylor; and, as before stated, only saved from assassination by that gentleman's friendly warning. Next day my father returned to Kilkea. Other, and what were considered more certain means of getting rid of him were then adopted by the confederates, which, however, resulted in compelling him to avow himself to the Government, and to appear against the United Irishmen.

The country was by this time in such a state of disturbance, that Martial Law had been proclaimed, and many arrests had taken place. The gaol at Athy was crowded with prisoners, and, among others, were five

* Vol. i. p. 222.

† Ibid. p. 225. et seq.

men of the names of Pender, Farley, Brannocks, and two brothers named Germaine. These men, in consequence of orders from the provincial committee, conveyed to them, it is supposed, by Mr. John Shears, who came down from Dublin to make arrangements for their defence, proposed to Colonel Campbell, in whose custody they were, to make some important [revelations *if their lives were spared ; and they then deposed upon oath that they severally held the rank of Captain in a regiment of United Irishmen, of which Mr. Reynolds, of Kilkea Castle, was the Colonel, and that he was moreover an active leader among the United Irishmen.*

My father was immediately arrested, by Colonel Campbell's orders, and conveyed to Athy. Upon his arrival, Colonel Campbell ordered a court-martial to assemble on the following morning, to try him upon the charges advanced by these five men. My father, after some difficulty, obtained an interview with Colonel Campbell, when his representations, backed by those of Colonel Campbell's officers, induced that gentleman to countermand the court-martial, and to send an express to Dublin for instructions ; and my father obtained permission to send a letter to Mr. Cope by the same messenger. That gentleman immediately waited upon the Secretary of State, and told him that the person whom Colonel Campbell had taken into custody, and was about to try by court-martial, was the person to whom he, Mr. Cope, was indebted for the timely information relative to the provincial meeting of the 12th of March, which he had given to Government, and he claimed the fulfil-

ment of the condition for personal safety upon which that information was given.

The Secretary of State immediately sent a King's messenger to Athy, with instructions to Colonel Campbell to deliver up his prisoner to the messenger to be conveyed to Dublin, and to send the five men to Dublin at the same time. Upon his arrival in Dublin my father was carried before the Privy Council, when he was told by the Lord Chancellor that the Government were not previously aware that they were indebted to him for the timely information they had received from Mr. Ope, or he should not have been molested by them; that he was now to consider himself a free man, and that he might go where he pleased; but, the Lord Chancellor added, that unless he would freely and frankly join the Government, and enable them entirely to crush the rebellion by the conviction of its leaders, he must not expect the protection of the Government from the further attempts of the United Irishmen. For the present, he was told, that he might withdraw under the care of the King's messenger, who would be a sufficient protection to him until he had made up his mind. He then withdrew, and was conducted to a hotel in front of the Castle, where he passed that night. He immediately sent for my mother and for several of his private friends, from all of whom he received such accounts of the feelings which the United Irishmen had excited in the populace against him, that it was clear that his life was in danger, as soon as the protection afforded by the

presence of the messenger, and the vicinity of the Castle-guard should be removed. He also learnt the confident report of his arrest, trial, and execution, by command of Colonel Campbell, spread through Dublin some days before his arrest actually took place, a circumstance which left no room to doubt by whose orders the five United Irishmen had deposed against him. These circumstances clearly proving that the struggle was to be one for life between the United Irishmen and him, and that without the support of Government he must fall, determined him at last to join the Government against them. He therefore on the next day proposed the following terms, to which the Privy Council acceded:—That his grandfather, Thomas Fitzgerald of Kilmead, should not be molested, either on account of his past conduct or of his opinions; that his uncle, Captain Fitzgerald of Geraldine, should be set at liberty; that he and his family should be protected from the personal violence of the United Irishmen; and that no person who might be convicted upon his evidence should be executed provided he would, after conviction, make a full disclosure of all he knew relative to the plans of the United Irishmen, and consent to banish himself.

This last condition was the origin of the negotiation and agreement afterwards made with O'Connor, M'Nevin, Bond, and fifty or sixty other persons, through the medium of Mr. Dobbs. And the Government afterwards so far modified it, that they agreed that if the persons in prison would make a full and free

disclosure, upon oath, of the whole of their plans, without mentioning any names of persons not already implicated, none of them should be brought to trial, nor be molested in their persons or properties, further than was necessary to keep them in safe custody, until they could banish themselves to some country not at war with Great Britain.

Upon these terms, and upon these terms alone, my father consented to join the Government, and appear, if required, as a witness against those by whose means he had been inveigled into a conspiracy for revolutionizing Ireland upon the French model, and converting her into a province of France, under the false pretence of seeking Catholic emancipation and reform in parliament, and by whose machinations he had been betrayed into the hands of the Government, after repeated attempts to assassinate him had failed.

If the terms obtained for the prisoners failed to save the lives of M'Can and Byrne, the blame lay not with the Government of the day; the terms were fairly tendered to those unhappy men, and the question naturally presents itself, why did not the Directory, the members of which were then all in the same gaol with them, and who were known to guide and govern their conduct, allow M'Can and Byrne to save themselves by confession, as did Oliver Bond, and as did those directors themselves a day or two afterwards? Was it that, confident of their own safety, they had resolved to allow their inferior associates to perish, that by such executions they might throw still more odium on the

Government; and, by holding out themselves, enable their friends in parliament to persist in their denial of the conspiracy. If so, their confidence soon forsook them; for, finding that Oliver Bond, one of the five Directors, was convicted, and that another of that body had received notice of trial, fear took possession of them, and self-preservation induced them to act towards Bond, as honour, humanity, and justice should have made them do towards M'Can and Byrne.

The above were commonly reported and believed at the time to have been the motives of their conduct towards M'Can and Byrne; and it was also said, and as generally credited, that M'Can was induced to refuse the conditions of pardon offered by Government, partly by a promise made him by the Directory, to provide for a person whom he had long had under his protection, and for his children by her; and partly by the dread of the persecution with which he was threatened in case he should refuse to obey the Directory; a persecution which must have been fatal to a man in his circumstances, without property, or the means of acquiring a subsistence but through those who in such case "would become his most implacable enemies. He could not possibly hope for subsistence from Government, the very terms of his pardon obliging him to quit the country. Byrne was married, and had one or two infant children, and was a man of property and connexions. He was said to be well disposed to avail himself of the proffered pardon; but Mr. Oliver Bond, who was himself under condemnation, sat with him the whole night

previous to his execution, drinking with him, and using every means to keep his mind in the state of exaltation in which he rushed on death, by throwing himself over the fatal drop, without waiting for the supports to be withdrawn. But when Mr. Oliver Bond was found guilty, literally when the rope was placed round his neck, the terms were accepted ! ! *

Such, I say, were the reports in Dublin at the time. But, whatever motives caused the United Irish leaders to act as they did, in allowing these two comparatively unimportant men to suffer, and saving Bond and themselves next day, it is very evident that M'Can and Byrne were their victims, and not the victims of the Executive Government, who offered them a means of pardon, which could not be considered as very repugnant, since it was next day embraced by the Directors themselves.

But, while some persons have blamed the Executive

* July 25th, being the day appointed for executing the sentence of the law on Mr. Oliver Bond, the dreadful apparatus of death was prepared at the New Prison. Some time, however, before the usual hour, the sheriffs received an intimation from Government to delay the fatal act until five in the afternoon; in the intermediate time a privy-council sat, on the rising of which, at three o'clock, an order to respite the execution till Monday arrived at the gaol.

On Thursday, Sept. 6, Oliver Bond died suddenly in Newgate. He had spent the evening and night before carousing with some of his imprisoned friends, and had eaten and drunk very plentifully; it was morning before they parted, and Bond, in going into the prison-yard preparatory to retiring to rest, fell down suddenly and expired. The coroner's jury found a verdict of "Died of apoplexy."—See the *New Cork Evening Post*.

Government for putting the sentence of the law in force against M'Can and Byrne, others, among whom I must distinguish Mr. Curran and Mr. Moore, have accused my father of having marked these men and others for death. Now the result of the trials proves, that, if there were men of blood, it is not upon my father the charge can be fastened. He covenanted that, in saving the State, the lives of the unfortunate men whose crimes should be proved through his means should be spared on certain conditions; and the State, true to its engagement, made those men the masters of their own lives. The men of blood were those with whom the condemned men took counsel after an impartial jury of their countrymen had convicted them, and who induced them to reject the boon granted by the State. Who, then, murdered M'Can and Byrne? Who allowed Oliver Bond to save his life by closing with the terms proposed when the fatal cord was already round his neck? It was not the Government; it was not my father; but their own friends, the leaders of the United Irishmen. And why did they who had thus wantonly murdered the first, consent to spare the last? Why? Because they felt the conviction that the State was sternly, resolutely determined to sift the conspiracy to the bottom, and lay bare its most secret councils; and that it would not be baffled by threats, false representations, clamours, or bullyings, but would go quietly and firmly through the task of executing them all, if necessary, to the last man, unless they accepted the proffered mercy exactly in the way in which it was offered. While a hope of

their own safety remained, they thought little of sacrificing M'Can and Byrne. Bond might have perished also; they marked him for death without a pang, until they saw clearly that they must put a stop to the executions, or they would all certainly have descended into that untimely grave which their offences had opened for them. M'Can and Byrne were their forlorn hope, *to which post the wretched, miserable, but still powerful influence of the Directory forced them.* They were martyrs to their own friends, who well knew that my father had covenanted to save their lives; but they fondly hoped that the alarm, the fears, and the feebleness of Government would spare them with full power to recommence their machinations, and again to endeavour, by the aid of a foreign foe, to wrest Ireland from the dominion of the Crown of Great Britain. The sacrifice of M'Can and Byrne was a trifle in their estimation, while a chance remained of procuring the acquittal of one prisoner, and casting a taint upon my father's evidence; a result which must have led to the release of the whole, and have left them nearly in the same position they had occupied before my father's disclosures had saved his country from the horrors of the French Revolution. Then, in the name of common honesty, let not the death of these two men be visited elsewhere than on the heads of those false friends through whose influence and persuasion they refused to accept their lives as the price of their confession, while, the very next day, those very men, finding that the determined resolution of the State was not to be

shaken, and that their own turns were fast approaching for certain condemnation and execution, accepted the mercy held out to them, and saved their own lives by making the most ample confessions! Mr. Arthur O'Connor was the last to hold out; and has assigned his reasons for permitting the execution of his two confederates M'Can and Byrne, in a letter addressed to *Lord Castlereagh*. *That which a sense of justice or of humanity could not obtain from him, the certainty that Mr. Oliver Bond would make a full and complete disclosure to save his own life wrung from him and from the three or four remaining leaders then in custody**. They gave full information of all the plans, means, and connexions of the United Irishmen, and of all matters touching the conspiracy, its extent in Ireland, and its connexion with France†.

* The readiness of Mr. O'Connor to sacrifice his own associates to save himself was shown in a singular manner upon his trial at Maidstone. The Attorney-General called a Mr. Hugh Bell, and examined him at great length. He was then cross-examined by Mr. Plumer on behalf of Mr. O'Connor; he was re-examined by the Attorney-General; and Mr. Plumer, by permission of the court, again examined him. But Mr. O'Connor, not yet satisfied, took the witness in hand himself, and questioned him with such recklessness of the effect against Quigley, that Mr. Justice Buller felt himself called upon to interfere, and stopped Mr. O'Connor with the following observation. "Mr. O'Connor, do you not see how much this is at the expense of the other prisoner?" See *Howell's State Trials*, vol. xxvi. p. 1325.

† Many of the leading members of the association had taken refuge in France during the years 1797 and 1798. In the second volume of *Tone's Life* we find the following curious observation on them. After naming Lewines, Tennant, Lowry, Teeling of Lisburn, Orr of Derry, M'Mahon of county Down, Macan and Burgess of county Lowth, Napper

In the course of this chapter I have occasionally been compelled to repeat matters which I have already stated; my object being to call public attention from the speeches of counsel—which are not evidence, but which have too long formed the basis upon which the public opinion of my father's character and conduct, both in his private and in his public relations has been formed—to the evidence given upon the trials, upon which alone he ought to be judged.

The foregoing narrative of my father's public conduct, in all its main features, in all which, from its nature, was capable of being brought forward in evidence, is fully supported by the evidence given on the trials. In many other parts it is supported by the confessions of the leaders of the United Irishmen; by the disclosures made upon the trials, now become matters of history, or by the voluntary publications of those leaders since their banishment to other lands. Judging my father by these trials and this narrative, it must be admitted that he was placed in a very difficult and very extraordinary position. In consequence of one false step he found himself compelled either to be an active participator in a plot for revolutionizing his country, and placing her under the control of France, by means

Tandy, Maguire, Thomas Muir, and O'Finn, he says that, in a conversation he had with General Kilmaine, that General said, "Their conduct was such as to reflect credit neither on themselves nor on their country; there was nothing to be heard of amongst them but denunciations, and, if every one of them separately spoke truth, all the rest were rascals." And Tone adds, he had reason to believe the General had not exaggerated! See the *Life of Tone*, vol. ii. p. 502.

which must have steeped the land in blood, or to deliver up those who seemed to have put their trust in him. He attempted to take a middle course ; he endeavoured to defeat the plot without seriously compromising the safety of individuals ; his attempt was defeated by the violence used towards him by the partisans of the United Irishmen, acting under their orders. These details have shown that, whatever errors in judgment he may have committed in binding himself to the designs of a society, however plausible, by the illegal obligation of an oath, his conduct was in no instance influenced by unworthy motives, and his moral character remained unimpeached. If the proof derived from facts so well established as the above; that my father had no connexion whatever with the Government of Ireland, until he was delivered up to them by the United Irishmen in the beginning of May, and that, in the course which he pursued, both before that event and afterwards, he was influenced by no unworthy or selfish motive, should seem to any to require further and more positive confirmation, I refer them to the letter inserted at page 446 of the first volume, written by Lord Castlereagh to my father, ten years after these events, when that nobleman could have had no assignable motive to seek to justify or palliate my father's conduct in 1798 ; to a letter written by Lord Carleton, at a still later period, which will be found at page 100 of this volume, in which that excellent person declared that his sentiments with respect to my father's character and conduct were in perfect unison with those expressed in Lord Castlereagh's letter, writ-

ten nine years before ; and to the following two letters, from the Earl of Chichester, who was Secretary of State in Ireland in 1798, and from the Marquis Camden, who was then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. What motive can be imputed to these noblemen sufficient to have induced them to sit down and compose deliberate misrepresentations in support of the character of a man whose power to render service to the State had ceased nineteen years before ?

Copy of a letter from the Earl of Chichester, addressed to Thos. Reynolds, Esq.

Stratton-street, June 20th, 1817.

SIR,

I have been favoured with your letter of the 19th instant, enclosing one from Lord Castlereagh, dated August 1st, 1808. *I am ready to confirm every syllable expressed in that letter ;* and, as the assistance you rendered the State began during the time I had the honour of being Secretary of State in Lord Camden's administration, I may venture to say that I can estimate those services more accurately than any other person ; and it was upon the fullest conviction of your merits that I felt peculiar satisfaction in having the opportunity of placing you at Lisbon. Your conduct there justified the appointment in the opinion of every person with whom I have had any communication at that important post. I enter into all your feelings, and those of your family, at what has appeared in the newspapers ; but it is only the pretended report of speeches, supposed to be

made in parliament, and which, in all probability, were never made in the terms used in the paper. I cannot help, therefore, recommending in the strongest manner, your silent submission to this unprovoked and unmerited censure, conscious of enjoying a continuance of the good opinion of those who are the best qualified to judge of your merits and character.

I am,
With much regard,
Very sincerely yours,
CHICHESTER.

Thomas Reynolds, Esq., 34, Welbeck-street,
Cavendish-square.

From the Marquis Camden to Thomas Reynolds, Esq.

Friday, June 20th, 1817.

SIR,

You will probably read in the newspapers, that, upon some allusion having been made to you, when I was not present, in the House of Lords last night, I took the earliest opportunity, after my return, to state the sense I entertained, and which I have not ceased to entertain, of the eminent services you rendered to your country, by voluntarily coming forward with such information as enabled the then Government of Ireland to check, and finally to crush, one of the most formidable plots with which any country ever had to contend; that you gave that information in the most useful and *most disinterested* manner; that, although attempts were made to invalidate your testimony, it was amply con-

firmed by the conviction of some and the confession of the remainder of those who were engaged in the conspiracy. The surest proof of the opinion entertained of the usefulness of your information, and of the manner in which you have conducted yourself upon that and subsequent occasions, is, that those who best know your conduct have endeavoured to show their good opinion of you, Lord Chichester, Lord Castlereagh, and myself, having each rendered you services on account of that opinion. I trust the public declaration I made last night, in my place, will be more useful to you than this testimony, but you are quite at liberty to show this letter to your friends.

I am, Sir, with great truth,

Your obedient humble servant,

CAMDEN.

Thomas Reynolds, Esq., 34, Welbeck-street,
Cavendish-square.

The country having been restored to comparative quiet, my father now quitted Dublin Castle, and took a house in Leinster-street. Congratulations and addresses poured in on him from all sides. He was visited and feasted by all classes of society, and was universally hailed as the saviour of his country; the Guild of Merchants voted him the freedom of their body, and accompanied their vote with a medal of Irish gold, which is now in my possession, a gold snuff-box, which is in the possession of my brother, and an address, of which a copy has been already given at page 72.

· On the 19th of October the freedom of the city of Dublin was presented to him, Thomas Andrews, Esq., being Lord Mayor, and Frederick Darley and Nathaniel Hone, Esqrs., Sheriffs. The following is an extract from the records :—

Be it remembered—

That at a general assembly of the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, commons, and citizens of the city of Dublin, held at the Tholsel of the said city, on Friday, the 19th day of October, 1798, the freedom of this city was granted to Thomas Reynolds, Esquire, for the important services he rendered to this country, by coming forward at a critical period to save it from the wicked plans of the conspirators, who were apprehended sitting in council, planning the destruction of the kingdom, and a general massacre of the loyal citizens.

In testimony whereof the same is signed and sealed
by the Town Clerk.

ALLEN A. GREEN,
Town Clerk of the city of Dublin.

While these triumphant addresses and congratulations were pouring in on my father from all parts of the country—while every hand was stretched out to meet him, and every tongue loud in commendation and approval of his public and private character—while the United Irishmen were everywhere put down, or banished from the country—little could he have thought that in a very few years his sacrifices and his services

would be forgotten, that his character and honour would be assailed by the United Irishmen and their friends, in public and in private, and even in both Houses of Parliament, that his friends would be afraid to stand up in his defence, and that those who ought in common honesty to have spoken of him in public as they had written to him in private—those who were bound by every tie that can bind man to man to testify to what they knew to be truth respecting his character and conduct, would either turn round with the changing tide of popularity, and join his revilers, or basely keep silence where they should have spoken, or defend him so timidly, so weakly, that their defence would do him greater hurt than the attacks of his accusers. Yet such was the case! And in that bitter school my father first learnt the truth of that heart-withering lesson, “Take ye heed every one of his friend, and trust ye not in any brother, for every brother will utterly supplant, and every friend will walk with slanders.” But, while speaking of faithless friends, let me pour out the tribute of gratitude with which my heart overflows when I call to mind two noblemen who never flinched from speaking out in defence of an injured and oppressed man, whenever they found it requisite or useful—the Earl of Chichester, and the Marquis Camden; the former was till his death the same unchanging friend, and the latter has proved himself on all occasions up to this hour the fearless upholder of truth, and the noble advocate of my father’s cause. His lordship’s protection is the more valuable, as he knew less of my father

than many others ; his knowledge was more strictly confined to the public services my father rendered, and on that ground his lordship has never failed to advocate his cause in private or in public, whenever his character was assailed, as I shall have to show fully in the course of this narrative.

Soon after my father had fixed himself in Leinster-street, the Duke of Leinster, greatly irritated at the part he had taken, sent a Mr. Green to him to tell him that he would not complete the lease of Kilkea, which, it will be remembered, had been postponed until such time as the expense of the repairs had been fully ascertained. His Grace therefore offered to return the 1000*l.* which he had received for the fine, but not a penny for the repairs ; and, as according to the lease my father was not only to repair the castle, but to keep it in repair, he considered that to seek to compel the duke to execute the lease by legal process of doubtful success, to repair the castle again, to restock the lands, to new furnish the house, would cost him a very heavy sum ; he therefore did not press the matter, but gave up the receipt on receiving back the fine ; and this he did the more readily, as he felt that he could not reside with any tranquillity at Kilkea, at least for some years ; and he was assured by Mr. Edward Cooke, the Under Secretary of State, that he should receive full compensation for his losses with the other suffering loyalists. How that promise was kept will presently be seen !

During the latter part of the year 1798 the city of Dublin was frequently disturbed by riotous mobs, whose

attacks were often formidable to persons who were unprepared. My father's house in Leinster-street was attacked one night by several hundreds of these ruffians, who commenced battering the hall-door with a sledge-hammer, and the windows with stones. Major Sirr, Mr. Samuel Broadstreet, and Mr. James Heavyside had dined with him: the attack commenced as they were taking their wine after dinner. Not choosing to wait for the mob to break in, they rushed at once to the hall-door, opened it, and fell with bludgeons upon those on the steps, drove them off, and having thus possession of that commanding spot, they stood there with pistols in their hands, while the whole set of poltroons ran past hallooing and threatening that vengeance they had not the spirit to attempt. A little further down the same street they attacked the house of a Mr. Baily, whose son, aided only by his servant, beat them off, fired on them from the windows, killed some and wounded several: the others went off to attack the house of the Lord Chancellor Clare, in Ely-place, which was a large open street in the vicinity of Stephen's Green. The attack on my father's house and on Mr. Baily's had given the alarm, and an entire company of foot, which was instantly sent to his lordship's assistance, entered the house and carefully shut all the doors and windows. When the mob arrived, they imagined that all the premises were at their mercy, and with the most violent imprecations began to demolish the doors and windows. In a few minutes the wide space in the front of the house was one dense crowd, scarcely leaving

space sufficient for the assailants to act, when suddenly all the windows were flung open, from the garret to the parlour, and a general volley of ball was discharged, and repeated quickly for eight or ten minutes, until such as could escape had entirely fled. The number killed was never known—some said eighty, some said as many as two hundred ; the wounded were innumerable.

The heart-breaking scenes my father had gone through, and his long confinement, had made him very desirous of getting for a time into some quiet retreat ; he, therefore, in the summer of 1799, passed over to England, and proceeded to Allonby, a retired village on the coast of Cumberland, noted as the landing-place of Mary Queen of Scots, when that unfortunate lady threw herself so unadvisedly into the power of Elizabeth. He there passed several months very agreeably with his family, visited by all the neighbouring gentry. He passed some weeks with my mother at the seat of Mr. Stanley of Ponsonby. At length he received an official letter from Mr. Edward Cooke, acquainting him that, pursuant to Act of Parliament, the Lord Lieutenant had signed a warrant granting him 1000*l.* a-year for his life, and those of his wife, and his two sons, and the survivor of them, which annuity produces about 900*l.* a-year sterling. Such was the compensation then made to my father for his losses, his services and his sufferings. It never paid the bare interest of his losses, were they confined to the account he had furnished ; but, as I before showed,

that account formed but a small portion of his real losses.*

His means being so much lessened, and seeing no immediate prospect of recovering his loss, on his return from Allonby he sold his horses, put down his establishment, quitted his residence in Leinster-street, and reduced his expenses in every respect to the limits of his diminished income, taking ready-furnished apartments at the house of a woman named Conolly, in Dawson-street.

At this period the Irish Government evinced great anxiety that he should quit Ireland altogether; Mr. Edward Cooke urged it seriously upon him; the number and rancour of his enemies (the United Irishmen) unquestionably rendered Ireland no very secure place of residence for his family; still he had a very strong party in all those of the higher classes, and to seek new connexions in a foreign land, where he could only be known through newspaper reports, was by no means inviting, particularly with his limited means and without any employment.

Mr. Cooke assured him that all his difficulties should be obviated, that care should be taken to place him in such an employment as would afford him consideration and connexions more than sufficient to replace those he should quit, that his two sons (my brother and myself) should be provided for as soon as they should attain sufficient age, and that he should be fur-

* See Vol. i. p. 261—265.

nished with suitable introductions to Mr. Pitt, the Duke of Portland, and other persons of weight in England. Under all these considerations and assurances, he consented, the more readily as Lord Camden had gone to England, and was succeeded as Lord Lieutenant by Lord Cornwallis, who courted popularity by opposing all the measures of his predecessor. He was amply supplied with introductions, and, having settled all accounts, he bade an eternal adieu to his kindred and country, and arrived with his family in London on the 1st of January, 1800.

During two years he did not cease to urge on the English Ministers the promises made to him on leaving Ireland, but to no purpose; he received much politeness, but the English Ministers referred him to the Irish; these again referred him to those in England; until at length, disgusted with both, he dropped the pursuit, and applied himself exclusively to the care of his family.

CHAPTER XIII.

Review of some passages in Moore's Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald—Mr. Moore's slanders refuted—Some facts which prove that Mr. Moore must have known he was asserting that which was false—Account of Mr. Reynolds's last interviews with Lord Edward Fitzgerald—Mr. Reynolds supplies Lord Edward Fitzgerald with arms and money—A reward of a thousand pounds offered for Lord Edward's arrest—He is betrayed by his friends—Account of his arrest—His desperate defence.—His death.

1798.

THE United Irishmen, and their partisans, especially Mr. Thomas Moore, emboldened by the distance of time and place, have, among other absurd calumnies, insinuated that my father was the person who caused the arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. I therefore feel myself called upon to relate all the intercourse my father ever had with his lordship, and at the same time to notice several passages in Mr. Moore's memoirs.

The memory of Lord Edward Fitzgerald is almost deified by those who partook of his opinions; but that misguided nobleman will ever be severely censured by all who are endowed with a stricter sense of right.

Mr. Plowden, who cannot be called a Tory writer, thus speaks of him:—"Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who had hitherto artfully concealed his traitorous designs by his amiable manners and conduct, had fascinated most of his acquaintance into unqualified confidence. By

adopting the sentiments of Mr. Grattan, he sought to disguise his treason under the shield of the sublimest virtue and patriotism.”*

Mr. Moore, aware of the power that the name of Lord Edward still has upon the feelings of those who adopted his views while he yet lived, as well as upon all who have directly or indirectly followed similar political paths since he has been removed from this scene, has made use of that name to endeavour to perpetuate party animosity against my father.

He who voluntarily assumes the sacred functions of an historian, even though he confine himself to the humbler path of biography, incurs deliberately a vast responsibility. He has no right to make any statement, however trivial, without having strictly examined the evidence of its truth. In the eyes of every well-thinking reader accuracy is a virtue of so high an order in this species of writing as to compensate for the absence of many other qualifications: on the other hand, if one who arrogates to himself the title of an historian indulges in statements destructive of the characters of others, not only without sufficient proof, but in the very teeth of the evidence which he himself has adduced, it is difficult to find terms of reprobation too harsh for his delinquency; and undoubtedly his offence is greatly aggravated if his reputation as an author (no matter how unworthily acquired), insures for his fictions a considerable circulation.

* Plowden's History of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 411.

Mr. Moore, who has always been the panegyrist of the United Irish party, thus introduces my father to his readers :—" It was to the mere accidental circumstance of a worthless member of the conspiracy being pressed for a sum of money to discharge some debts that the Government was indebted for the treachery that at once laid the whole plot at their feet, delivered up to them at one seizure almost all the leaders, and thus, disorganizing, by rendering it headless, the entire body of the union, *was the means, it is not too much to say, of saving the country to Great Britain.* The name of this informer, a name, in one country at least, never to be forgotten, was Thomas Reynolds." *

That the person who was the means of saving Ireland to Great Britain should appear " worthless " in Mr. Moore's estimation, neither surprises nor grieves me ; for, in my opinion, no loyal or moral man could possibly covet or expect to obtain his approbation. They who, like me, know Mr. Moore only by his works, from his first Erotic effusion to his latest lampoon, would be reluctant enough to adopt his standard of moral worth.

I have already shown, in a former part of this work, that my father was not a needy man ; and, for the honour of human nature, I would wish to believe that Mr. Moore was only mistaken or misinformed when he asserted the contrary ; but let me remind Mr. Moore that, not only in law but in morals, that writer is wisely stigmatised as a slanderer whose indolence or prejudice

* Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, vol. ii. p. 13.

has deterred him from ascertaining the falsehood of his calumnies. All I now can do is thus publicly to challenge him to prove his assertion or to disprove mine.

There is not a vestige of truth in Mr. Moore's assertion. It was not owing to an accidental circumstance—it was not owing to a needy man being pressed for a sum of money to discharge some debts—that Ireland was preserved from a train of disasters which might probably have been very long, but which would infallibly have ended in her subjugation anew by Great Britain, with all the additional misery resulting from a direful and protracted struggle, and from the vindictive feelings to which that struggle must have given rise.

Early in 1797 my father took from the Duke of Leinster the valuable lease of the castle and lands of Kilkea, paid his Grace 1000*l.* fine, and laid out 2500*l.* in repairs ; he then furnished the castle and stocked the lands, and had taken possession before the close of the year. In the foregoing chapters I have already clearly and plainly given these facts to public investigation, and I trust they will convince my readers that he could not have been a very needy man ;—surely they are far more to be relied on than this unsupported assertion that my father rushed upon almost inevitable death, in the hope of procuring a small sum of money to pay some debts.

Mr. Moore states that on the 25th of February, 1798, while my father was travelling to Castle Jordan with Mr. Cope, he gave that gentleman to understand that,

by means of a third person, he could put Government into possession of such facts as would be sufficient to counteract the whole plans of the conspirators. This statement is tolerably correct as far as it goes, but it is not the whole truth ; it suited Mr. Moore, as the writer of a panegyric, or at all events as the author of a selling book, to introduce my father just at this moment upon the scene, as a needy, distressed man, ripe for anything by which present relief might be obtained. This method has somewhat of a dramatic effect : it exalts the hero by debasing his opponents ; and one cannot, perhaps, expect that a writer who has been devoting his whole life to fiction of the idlest kind—to use no harsher term—should, of a sudden, feel the duties of the historian, and that, freed from the inveterate habits of his mind, he should rise into veracity. It will be necessary, however, for me to refer to a few preliminary circumstances which Mr. Moore might have found to be incontrovertible, if some friend had but suggested to him, what no doubt he never dreamt of, that it was his duty to inquire into the matter.

My father became a United Irishman in February, 1797, and took the initiatory oath. During his attendance upon the meetings of the simple societies and of the baronials, he heard much said upon various visionary schemes that he considered to be idle and extravagant, and not always within the bounds of the oath taken, but they made little or no impression upon his mind ; for, as I have already shown, the members of the inferior societies knew scarcely anything of the real

designs of the leaders. Mr. Plowden, speaking of this very time, says, "None of the deluded people knew the game which their leaders were playing: the design of separation and independence was still cautiously suppressed from the low members of the union.*" As my father was then much occupied about his newly-acquired property, he abstained from all attendance on the meetings for several months.

In November, 1797, Lord Edward Fitzgerald called on my father, and asked him to take his place as colonel of a regiment of United Irishmen enrolled in the county of Kildare, for a short time. My father hesitated to accept the post; but Lord Edward's urgent request, backed by the advice of Mr. Oliver Bond, and some family considerations, induced him to comply.

My father heard no more of the business till January, 1798, when one Kennaa called upon him and told him that he was about to be named colonel, and this was in fact afterwards done during my father's absence. He was afterwards summoned to attend a county committee on the 18th of February at the Nineteen-mile House, of which committee he was chosen treasurer, and he was deputed to attend the provincial committee in Dublin, the highest body in the society except the Directory. It was at this meeting of the 18th of February that *for the first time* my father was made fully acquainted with the designs of the United Irishmen,

* Plowden's History of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 401. See also on this subject Tone's Memoirs, *passim*; and the notes at p. 209 of the first volume of these Memoirs.

and their state of preparation. These facts were communicated to him by his co-delegates Cummings and Daly, who also informed him that they did so to prepare him for a meeting of the provincial committee, to be held on the next day in Dublin. I have merely referred to these facts here for the purpose of drawing a few conclusions from them; they are all fully detailed and proved in the foregoing part of this work.

It was at this important moment that my father became thoroughly aware of the heavy responsibility which his confidence in Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Mr. Bond had imposed on him. Upon this one moment the whole issue rests, and I pray the reader to examine the subsequent part of my father's conduct with all the calmness which becomes one whose verdict is to acquit a party grievously accused, or, on the other hand, to inflict infamy upon him. The clue which I offer for tracing my father's conduct is, that the objects proposed by the association were suddenly revealed to him, who, in common with the great bulk of the United Irishmen, had been until then kept in ignorance of them. The clue which Mr. Moore maliciously, or, what is equally reprehensible, ignorantly, obtrudes upon the reader, is, that my father sought relief from pecuniary distress by betraying his comrades to the Government.

The first undeniable fact is, that my father did not attend the provincial meeting held in Dublin on the following day, the 19th of February; he sent an excuse—a strange mode of proceeding for a man to adopt who had made up his mind to sell his comrades and all their

secrets for money! He thus wilfully sacrificed the best possible opportunity of acquiring without delay that certain and intimate knowledge of the persons of the chiefs of the conspirators which would have rendered his information a thousand times more valuable. He might at once have become acquainted with all the chiefs in the plot, and all their secrets. If money and immediate protection from Government were his objects, he must have been the silliest man in existence, for he could have done his work in the shortest space of time, and have had the shield of Government thrown over him instantly; but no! this distressed man, fearing the face of a creditor, and intending to sell his secret to relieve himself from his distress, lets slip a favourable moment which chance might never give him again. The plotting man, who will go all lengths for money, never acts in this manner: he watches his moment with deliberation, he strikes his blow when it will produce the best effect, and he seizes his gains without an instant's loss, lest that instant should dash the cup from his lips. But my father did not act thus. He was filled with horror and indignation at what he had just learned. The real designs of the chiefs had now been revealed to him. Instead of reform and emancipation, he found that rebellion and separation were their aim, and that these were to be attained by means of assassination and French invasion. To carry their views into effect all obstacles were to be overthrown. The ties of kindred, of friendship, of gratitude, all were to be severed, should they interfere with the designs of the conspirators.

Civil war and assassination were avowed means, and every United Irishman who had taken the initiatory oath was considered by those chiefs as bound to do their bidding.

Amazed, perhaps alarmed, by Cummings's communication, my father returned from the Nineteen-mile House to Kilkea, revolving in his mind what course to pursue. He avoided the meeting of the provincial on the 19th, but went to Dublin on the 21st, where he saw, and had conversations with, two members of the provincial committee. The first was Mr. Richard M'Cormick, who informed him that he had attended the meeting of the 19th, and, upon venturing to propose moderate measures, that is a conduct in conformity with the oath of the United Irishmen, he had been violently abused and ill-treated, and had hardly escaped with his life. The second was Neilson, who, upon my father's showing him a proclamation issued by order of the Directory, recommending mild and moderate conduct, and urging a strict adherence to the course recommended in that, their own proclamation, observed—"Reynolds, take care what you say you know too much to stop now; we will have no half-measure men. He that is not for us is against us."

On the 25th, as Mr. Moore states, my father went to Castle Jordan with Mr. Cope, his mind still occupied with the tremendous conspiracy so lately disclosed to him, and the apparent fruitlessness of any efforts which he could make to prevent or delay it. On their return Mr. Cope gave him an opportunity of withdrawing from

the conspiracy, and of preventing its further progress, of which he determined to avail himself. But he postponed his communication that he might make it in the manner least likely to compromise eventually the personal safety of his confederates. A day or two after their return to Dublin, he saw Mr. Cope, who then informed him that he (Mr. Cope) had seen the Secretary of State, and was empowered by him to make any offers of honours and rewards which might be palatable to the person who could render the immense service to the State which had been spoken of. My father, "being much distressed for a sum of money to discharge his debts," of course made his bargain. No such thing! he refused every such proposal, though (to use Mr. Cope's words) "tempted in every way."* All he asked was indemnity and protection for the person disclosing the facts; that he should never be called on to prosecute any man as a United Irishman; that his name should be kept secret; and that his expenses, occasioned by his necessary and sudden absence from Ireland to avoid assassination, not exceeding 500*l.*, should be paid. Such were the only terms he required, and, these being agreed on, he gave Mr. Cope intelligence of the meeting to be held on the 12th of March.

Had my father dealt in this business for wealth and rewards, he was, I must again say, the most inconceivably simple person that was ever intrusted with a great confidence by men not deficient in shrewdness. He

* See Howell's *State Trials*, vol. xxvii. p. 564.

abstains from attending the meeting of the 19th of February, where he could have gained information invaluable for Government purposes ; he rejects all offers made to him by Mr. Cope in the name of the Secretary of State, and contents himself with 500*l.*, a sum so paltry, that, in all probability, even Mr. Moore would have spurned it as the price of his book.

Mr. Moore knows mankind too well to be the dupe of the mask he has formed to personate Thomas Reynolds ; if I could stoop to follow Mr. Moore's example, and if my mind naturally and involuntarily resorted (as Mr. Moore's seems to resort) to base motives, when I desire to explain the conduct of a man who acts otherwise than I imagine that I myself should act in similar circumstances, I might perhaps attribute Mr. Moore's sins as a writer (biographer it is ridiculous to call him) to the blind violence of his party propensity. I might say that, seeing in my father the impediment to the direst calamity that could have befallen Ireland, he considers all weapons, from the knife of the assassin to the pen of the slanderer, lawful against him ; that, belonging to a party which sought to wrest Ireland from the union with England, no matter under what rule she might afterwards fall, he can feel nothing but implacable hatred against every man who aided in preventing such a consummation. Even if I imputed these things to Mr. Moore, I should nevertheless not reduce myself altogether to his level. In comparison with my father, whom he maligns, it must be confessed that he is altogether a most insignificant person ; it

cannot be said of Mr. Moore that he has ever been the means of saving anything to Great Britain, whatever he may have inflicted on her morals or her literary fame. Again, there would be this difference between us, that, whereas his outrage on my father's character is absolutely unprovoked—whether it be the result of mere laziness, of habitual indifference to truth, when the discovery of it costs research, or of party virulence—my reply to him would be in fulfilment of a holy duty, the vindication of my father's memory.

But I will not dwell longer on so trifling a matter as the motives or the merits of Mr. Thomas Moore; indeed it is with infinite disgust that I track him to his next misstatement.

Mr. Moore, in several passages of his work, insinuates that my father sought to gain the confidence of Lord Edward Fitzgerald for the purpose of betraying him. Now in these slanderous insinuations Mr. Moore has given the weight of his popularity as an author to the foulest falsehood that ever disgraced the public press. It is a fact on public record, which public record it is evident Mr. Moore has referred to—I do not say that he has made himself master of it, for that was not necessary for the sale of his tale; but he has referred to it, for he has copied several passages from it—I mean Howell's State Trials—that my father scarcely knew Lord Edward personally, although he was a distant relative, until he met him in company with Hugh Wilson; that Lord Edward urged my father to

take his military command in the county of Kildare; that my father hesitated at complying, and that many arguments were necessary before his hesitation could be removed. Thus the man whom Mr. Moore represents as eager to betray, actually declines the very means which Lord Edward was forcing upon him to attain his supposed end, and only accepts those means after reiterated entreaties. Let us leave for a moment this monstrous perversion of facts, while we consider some circumstances which make it clear that my father was so reluctant to meddle in this business that nothing but the conviction of the miseries which the chiefs of the United Irishmen were labouring to bring upon Ireland could have induced him to take the measures which he did adopt.

Mr. Cope was the only person known to Government as the channel of information, until my father was brought up to Dublin in custody from Athy, where he was on the eve of being brought before a court-martial, and tried for his life, on the charge of being an United Irishman. He had returned to Kilkea Castle from Dublin after the arrests at Bond's; and there, so far from being known to, or protected by, Government, it is notorious that military possession was taken of his house and land on the 21st of April; and, when by one word he might have saved his property from plunder, and his person and family from insult—when he might have acquired the rewards which Mr. Moore stupidly accuses him of seeking—he still remained silent,

and in the short space of *nine days* * this “distressed” man, as Mr. Moore describes him, was doomed to see his distress fearfully augmented by the destruction of property proved and duly certified to have been worth 12,760*l.*; the destroyers being the very party with whom, according to Mr. Moore, he had *personally* stipulated for protection and reward! Four days afterwards he was arrested and brought to Athy, to be tried by the court-martial; and he would inevitably have been executed in a few hours, had not Colonel Campbell been induced to send to Dublin for further orders. Then it was that Government *first knew him*, as the man whose timely horror at the conspiracy had arrested the miseries it was preparing for his country. This was on the 8th of May, two months after the arrests at Bond’s. My father had been marked by the chiefs of the Union for his non-attendance at the meetings of the 19th of February and 12th of March, for his conversation with Neilson, for his haranguing the people at Mageny Bridge, and for his very attempt to urge Lord Edward Fitzgerald, as I shall presently show, to avoid his impending fate. Those chiefs had therefore armed assassins against him, and three times he narrowly escaped being their victim. Those very chiefs, who inveigled their unsuspecting countrymen into an association professedly for the simple redress of griev-

* The castle was afterwards occupied for several months, during which the destruction of property was very great, but certainly the greatest part of the damage was done in the first nine days’ visit.

vances, were ready to proclaim as deserters and traitors all who would not consent to share in their secret projects of murder and rapine, and that most dastardly of all crimes against a nation—the invitation of a foreign invader. What? the United Irishmen had grievances, which they could not muster native hands and hearts enough to redress! With 350,000 men enrolled under their banners, could the succour of a French army be requisite? After inviting the common enemy, do these traitors presume to charge a man with treachery because he would not be an accomplice in their nefarious projects! They had not manliness enough to assume such a determined attitude as would have wrung from Government the concession of their rights; but they must make an appeal to foreign aid, to French principles, and to French bayonets. Could any honest man ever drink such toasts as these: “Mother Erin, dressed in green ribands by a French milliner, if she can’t be dressed without her,” and “The spirit of the French mob to the people of Ireland?”* Those degenerate Irishmen who could avow such sentiments have proved that they still more richly deserved the contempt into which they have fallen.

The first paragraph in which Mr. Moore brings a direct accusation against my father, of having betrayed Lord Edward Fitzgerald, is as follows:—

“His Lordship, *it appears*, had taken a kind and active part in some negociations relative to a lease be-

* See Appendix, No. 12.

tween Reynolds and the Duke of Leinster, and being deceived in the course of this transaction by an appearance of honesty and respectability in the man, was induced in the unsuspectingness of his own nature to place entire confidence in him.”*

This is a piece of pure invention from the beginning to the end; it is utterly and absolutely without the smallest foundation in fact; whether Mr. Moore is the unhappy inventor, or whether he is only the poor dupe of the scoundrel who did invent it, let him declare.† There never was any personal friendship between Lord Edward Fitzgerald and my father but what arose out of their being both members of the Society of United Irishmen. His lordship never was my father’s bene-

* Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, vol. ii. p. 39.

† The wilful misrepresentation of facts to serve a purpose, or to support a theory, of which Mr. Moore is constantly guilty in this work, is curiously illustrated at p. 79, of his 2nd volume. He appears to be desirous of imputing the active measures taken for the arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald to a Captain Armstrong, for he introduces that event in the following manner:—“Through the means of an officer of the King’s County Militia, named Armstrong, who, by passing himself off as a person of republican principles, gained the confidence of the two brothers, John and Henry Sheares, the Government had obtained an insight into the movements of the conspiracy, of which, quickened as was now their vigilance by their fears, they lost no time in vigorously availing themselves, and as a first step on the 11th of this month (May), a proclamation was issued, offering a reward of a thousand pounds for the apprehension of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.” When Mr. Moore wrote this paragraph, imputing the issuing of this proclamation to the information which had been obtained for the Government by Captain Armstrong, he knew that Captain Armstrong was only introduced to the two Sheares late in the afternoon of the 10th of May, at the shop of a bookseller named Byrne, and that his first communication with them after the in-

factor in any instance ; on the contrary, my father was his benefactor in every case.

trodition, took place on the 13th at their own house in Bagot-street,* and that consequently the proclamation of the 11th of May could not have been caused by any communications which he had it in his power to make.

* The following account of the execution of Henry and John Sheares is taken from the *New Cork Evening Post* of Monday, July 23rd, 1798.

"Saturday, July the 21st, having been appointed for execution of those wretched victims of a diabolical ambition, Henry and John Sheares, the sheriffs attended at the New Prison at twelve o'clock in order to perform their duty. The prisoner Henry seemed to be sunk into a state of listless insensibility. John displayed at times somewhat more of fortitude, but appeared on the whole dreadfully agitated. Throughout the night after their conviction they were strictly watched, to prevent their making any attempt upon their own lives ; but of this they appeared to be incapable, as during that time they continued sunk in utter inattention, or only rousing themselves to join in bitter lamentations of their unhappy fate. When any person approached, this despondence was shaken off for a moment by John Sheares, and sometimes, at his exhortation, by Henry, but upon the departure of strangers they instantly relapsed. When the sheriffs arrived the prisoners entreated them to be the bearers of a supplication to Government for a short respite, in consideration for which they offered to make the most useful discoveries. This message being carried to the castle, Government, being already possessed of complete information of everything which the Sheareses could discover, refused to grant the respite. Upon receiving this refusal, a new supplication was made, in the most abject terms, entreating a respite until Monday, for at least one of them. Of this message the sheriffs were humane enough to be also the bearers, but returned with a second refusal. At this repeated disappointment the prisoners were most dreadfully shaken ; but upon being directed to prepare for death made a sudden and short effort by mutual encouragement to rouse themselves. In the interval between the reply to their last message and their execution the clerical gentleman who attended continued to exhort them to full repentance and disclosure of their crimes. Henry declared that his object was a reform, and that he never had intended to excite indiscriminate massacre. John made the same declaration, and added, 'I hope this example will have the effect it is intended to have ; I fear it will not. Government little know whom they ought to execute.' The Rev. Mr. Gamble, alarmed at the uncharitable tendency of those words, asked if they died in charity with all men : they replied that they did. While the executioner was fitting the rope, he by some awkwardness pressed the neck of Henry Sheares, who, with a degree of asperity and violence ill-suited to his situation, cried out, 'Damn you, you scoundrel, do you mean to strangle me before my time !'

"They requested that they might not continue long exposed to the gaze of the multitude, and, having each an halter fixed round his neck, and a cap drawn over his face, holding by each other's hand, they tottered out upon the platform in the front of the prison. In making the rope fast within, John Sheares was hauled up to the block of the tackle, and continued nearly a minute suspended alone before the platform fell. It did fall, and instantly both were suspended. After hanging about twenty minutes, they were, at a quarter after three o'clock, let down into the street, when the hangman separated their heads from their bodies, and, taking the heads severally up, proclaimed, 'Behold the head of a traitor !' In the evening the trunks and heads were taken away in two shells, provided

It does not appear that Lord Edward Fitzgerald ever did or ever could have interfered in any manner about any lease between my father and the Duke of Leinster; and I now publicly challenge Mr. Moore to produce any proof or any document from which he could have been led to suppose that such was the case.

Mr. Moore appears to have derived the little information he possessed relative to my father chiefly from the documents published in a Report of a Secret Committee of the Irish House of Commons, in 1798. Finding, in a paper attached to that Report, that my father and Lord Edward Fitzgerald knew each other "*only personally*" (that is, only by sight) until their meeting on the steps of the Four Courts, when his lordship was in company with Hugh Wilson, in November 1797, *and that only from a purchase my father had been about, in the county of Kildare, from the Duke of Leinster*, Mr. Moore ingeniously built upon it the assertion that Lord Edward had taken a kind and active part in the negotiation. My father never had any other lease from the duke than that of the castle and lands of Kilkea, which he had purchased, and on which he was residing before Lord Edward and he had any but a general acquaintance with each other.

by a respectable gentleman, (unhappily connected with one of the brothers,) and buried in the churchyard of St. Michan's.

"The anxious desire expressed by the prisoners for a short respite is variously interpreted; perhaps there may some elucidation be found in the question of John Sheares to the gaoler on the morning of Saturday, when he asked 'was the city of Dublin disturbed or attacked in the course of the night?' and his obvious disappointment on being answered in the negative.

"A small party of the Loyal Dublin Cavalry attended as a guard on the execution; the number of spectators was *incalculable*."

Lord Edward Fitzgerald could not for a moment have been “deceived by any *appearance* of respectability” in my father, as his lordship knew Mr. Reynolds to be as respectable as himself, being of the same connexions, and of the same family.

Lastly, my father could not have needed any protection from Lord Edward, as, in point of fortune, my father was by far the richer man of the two.

The fact is, that as early as the year 1795 my father's relations at Kilmead and Geraldine, being aware of his desire to retire from Dublin and to settle himself in the county of Kildare, and knowing that the castle and barony of Kilkea would shortly fall into the hands of the Duke of Leinster, were anxious to acquire that valuable property for one of the family, and consequently they proposed it to him. Having made such inquiries as he considered necessary, he authorised his uncle Thomas Fitzgerald, of Geraldine, to negotiate the matter on his behalf with the duke; and Mr. Spenser, the agent of his grace, who resided at Rathangan, very soon afterwards communicated the terms agreed upon to my father. Amongst them were the conditions that he should pay 1000*l.* in cash to the duke, and that he should put the castle into complete repair, as it required entirely new roofs, new floors, new staircases, and in fine, nearly everything except rebuilding the main walls. It must be evident that the repairs of the old castle, the arrangement and stocking of the lands, and the removing and fixing of furniture, and other such matters, could not be accomplished with-

out some delay; yet all this was done, his family residing there, and he had received company from Dublin to pass some time with him, previously to any acquaintance with Lord Edward Fitzgerald. At length, in the month of November, 1797, being in Dublin for a day or two on business, he met Lord Edward in the street with Hugh Wilson, as I have before related.

The foregoing facts are on record in the courts of justice, and this my father's first intimacy with Lord Edward Fitzgerald (if intimacy it can be called), took place in November, 1797. What then but the inveterate habit of fiction could induce Mr. Moore to assert that his lordship had kindly interfered with the duke his brother to procure for my father the lease of Kilkea?

Mr. Moore, unused in his writings to the decencies of truth, proceeds, at the dictation of his fancy or his prejudice, to introduce his account of the arrests of the 12th of March, by giving extracts of examinations (with embellishments of his own) which were not in existence for two months after that period, as if those arrests arose out of the examinations, or were in some manner connected with them. Now the truth is, as I have already clearly proved, that my father was on the 12th of March totally unknown to every member of the Government, and remained so until, in the month of May, the leaders of the United Irishmen directed five men of their body to lay information, on oath, before Colonel Campbell, the commander of the Athy district, against my father, as a leader of the United Irishmen; whereupon his friend Mr. Cope proceeded to the castle

in Dublin, and made such communications respecting him to the Secretary of State, as caused him to be sent up to Dublin under a military escort, accompanied by his five accusers; and thus it was that, *for the first time*, my father was brought into communication with Government. How then could any examinations taken from him in the month of May have affected the measures which had been adopted in the previous month of March?

Mr. Moore here also makes mention of the arrests of Emmet, M'Nevin, Jackson, Sampson, and others, at that period, as if they were founded upon my father's communications with Mr. Cope. To this I reply, once for all, that neither those individuals nor any other person, save only those who were found in the Provincial Committee-room sitting in council, in Bond's house, on the 12th of March, were arrested upon information given by my father. Even Oliver Bond himself, in whose house the Provincial members were taken, was not arrested with the Committee, of which he was not a member, and at whose sitting he could not be present. He was arrested at his desk in his own counting-house.

Here I beg clearly to be understood as not in any manner seeking to apologize for, or to put a false colour on, the line of conduct my father thought fit to pursue in 1798. That conduct is on record, and the recollection of it formed the pride and happiness of his life. He opposed the United Irishmen as a body of men who, under the false pretence of seeking reform

and emancipation only, were endeavouring to plunge his native country into all the horrors of revolutionary war, and who, in their desperation, sought to introduce French forces to subjugate the country, to separate it from England, and to form it into a republic, of which they themselves were to be the heads, under the protection of France ; and he happily succeeded in preventing those atrocious designs from being carried into effect. •

Every page of Mr. Moore's publication shows more and more the atrocity of the schemes of the leaders of the United Irishmen ; and lessens, as my father very justly observed, any regret he might be supposed to have felt for the very great sacrifices he made in his family, in his property, and in all the comforts and endearments of life, in defeating them. He never named any individuals until those individuals had first assailed him, repeatedly attempting his life, and calumniating his reputation, and finally causing him to be dragged before a military tribunal, where they hoped to smother the exposure of their own nefarious purposes in his blood.

Mr. Moore thus proceeds with his charges against my father :—"In making his terms with the Government, it was one of the conditions insisted upon by Reynolds that the channel through which the information came should remain for some time a secret ; a stipulation in which his employers were no less interested than himself, as, by wearing still the mask of a friend, he could retain still the confidence of those he was betraying, and whatever victims his first aim had

missed might, from the same ambush, be made sure of afterwards." * He then describes three interviews that my father had with Lord Edward Fitzgerald, on the 11th, 14th, and 15th of March, and then says,—“That Reynolds promptly gave information to his employers of the place and circumstances of THIS interview (which of the three does he mean?) there can hardly be any doubt, and that they should have let pass such an opportunity of seizing their noble prey can only be accounted for either by his quick change of place, which baffled pursuit, or more probably by that wish to afford him a chance of quitting the country, which it is well known that *one* at least of the powerful members of the Cabinet at this time entertained.” †

If I prove that these statements are entirely unfounded, and that the means of detecting their falsehood were within Mr. Moore's reach, it will be for him to re-establish his character (not as a biographer, for the sooner he rids himself of that the better, but) as an honest man, as best he may. The facts are as follow :

My father was desirous of putting Lord Edward Fitzgerald on his guard, and, if possible, of making him quit Dublin, lest, by putting himself forward he should get personally involved on the occasion of the arrests at Bond's. On the 11th of March, therefore, my father called upon Lord Edward at Leinster-House, and strongly urged the propriety of his absconding,

* Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, vol. ii. p. 45.

† Ibid. p. 47.

showing him at the same time an order issued, under an injunction to secrecy, by a commander of a corps of yeomanry to his men, requiring them to furnish themselves directly with ball-cartridges, and to take other measures indicating some serious movement as impending. Lord Edward directly attributed the movement to himself, and having taken the necessary precautions, this warning saved him from arrest at that time. It has since appeared, that a "separate warrant" was in fact issued against him*, so little connivance was there between my father and the Government.

On the morning of the 14th of March Mr. M'Cann, an apothecary residing in Grafton-street, called upon my father, to tell him that Lord Edward wished much to see him, and that he (M'Cann) would conduct him to his place of concealment. On that same evening, at eight o'clock M'Cann took my father to the house of a medical man named Kennedy, in Aungier-street, nearly opposite to a little grocer's shop kept by one Moore, the father of the biographer. There Lord Edward asked my father to conceal him in Kilkea Castle, which had the reputation of abounding in secret apartments, so contrived as to elude all discovery; but my father considered that if, notwithstanding his most faithful care, Lord Edward should be discovered, he would for ever lie under the imputation of having betrayed him, especially if his late communications with Mr. Cope should come to light. He therefore told his

* Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, vol. ii. p. 39. See also Howell's State Trials, vol. xxvii. p. 427.

Lordship that he was then preparing to take his family over to England as soon as my mother should be sufficiently recovered from her approaching confinement ; and that if it were otherwise, the connexion of the two families, and their personal acquaintance, which was not unnoticed by the adverse magistrates of the county, would render Kilkea Castle the very worst place of concealment that he could think of. The event proved how wise were these objections.

Lord Edward assented to these reasons, and said he would consider of some other place, and requested my father to call again on him at the same hour on the following night.* He had no arms of any sort except a small dagger, and he was quite unprovided with cash, which was then scarce, as the banks had stopped all issue of gold. My father called again on him, in the evening of the 15th, and brought him fifty guineas in gold, and a case of good sized pocket-pistols, with ammunition, and a mould for casting bullets. Lord Edward said that he had settled with Mr. Lawless, a surgeon, who was then waiting for him in the parlour, to be off before the night-patroles should be set. He then said a few words about the county of Kildare Committee, for whom he gave my father a letter, which he had previously prepared, put the pistols into his breast, threw a cloak over his shoulders, and left the house accompanied by Mr. Lawless. My father never saw him more. He remained a few minutes in the

* Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, vol. ii. p. 46.

parlour with Dr. Kennedy, after Lord Edward and Mr. Lawless were gone. All the principal details connected with these three visits must have been seen by Mr. Moore in Howell's State Trials, and in the Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Lords before referred to.

On the following day (the 16th of March) Lady Edward Fitzgerald sent to request my father to call upon her, when she paid him a sum of forty-five pounds in bank-notes, as she said, by Lord Edward's directions, being the amount of some balances which he held belonging to the United Irishmen.* She also complained of a want of gold; my father told her he had given Lord Edward fifty guineas the preceding night, and would send her fifty more in the course of that day, which promise he performed. Neither of these sums were ever repaid. In the course of their conversation my father mentioned his intention of leaving Ireland for a time; on which she took a ring from her finger and gave it to him, saying she hoped to hear from him if he should have anything of importance to communicate, and that she would not attend to any letter purporting to come from him, unless it were sealed with that ring, which was a small red cornelian, engraved with the figure of a dancing satyr. It is now in the possession of my brother. My father then took his leave, and never more saw, or had any communication with Lady Edward Fitzgerald.

* This money was laid out in the defence of prisoners tried at the assizes at Naas. See Howell's State Trials, vol. xxvii. p. 551.

I will not insult the reader, or add to Mr. Moore's disgrace, by asking whether these were the acts of an unfriendly, or of a needy man.

Speaking of these visits, Mr. Moore says, "That even to Lord Edward, whose place of concealment at this moment was kept secret from his own family, this man (my father), under the trust reposed in him, found ready admittance, and again abusing the frank confidence he had inspired, was enabled to return to his employers armed with fresh proofs, which though unavailing as it turned out against the noble Edward himself, were reserved for the posthumous revenge of disinheriting his offspring."* Now I have already shown that these interviews (with the exception of the first on the 11th of March) were not sought by my father, but by Lord Edward himself; and that their principal object was the safety of that nobleman. With respect to the subsequent attainder of Lord Edward, and the disinheritance of his children, the first measure was necessary, that the evidence upon which the Irish Government had proceeded against Lord Edward during his lifetime, which proceedings unfortunately led to his death, might be put on record in Parliament for the justification of the ministers; and Mr. Moore has himself informed us, at page 281 of his second volume, that Lord Edward's estate was immediately restored to his children in the following manner: the estate had been mortgaged for £10,500, and the Lord Chancellor,

* Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, vol. ii. pp. 38 and 55.

with the approbation of Government, allowed the estate to be sold in Chancery under a foreclosure of the mortgage, to which the Attorney-General was made a party, to be purchased by Mr. Ogilvie, who had married the Dowager Duchess of Leinster (Lord Edward's mother), for the amount of the mortgage, on account of Lord Edward's children; and the attainder was reversed in 1819 in fulfilment of a promise made in 1798: the object of the Government being, not the persecution of Lord Edward's innocent family, but the justification of their own measures by the production of the evidence in Parliament. Had Lord Edward not fallen at the time he did, his own confession, which would in all probability have accompanied those of Messrs. O'Connor, M'Nevin, Bond, &c., would have rendered those ulterior proceedings unnecessary, and he would have been pardoned on the condition of banishment with the other conspirators.

Mr. Moore himself states the fact of my father's having been in Aungier-street on the evening of the 14th with Lord Edward, who, Mr. Moore admits, had made an appointment for their meeting again on the following evening at the same place.* Here was a period of twenty-four hours, during the whole of which time nothing could have prevented Lord Edward's arrest, if Government had known his place of concealment, with which Mr. Moore says my father had, "doubtless, acquainted" them. Was twenty-four hours too short a

* Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, vol. ii. p. 46.

time to send a party from the Police Office to Aungier-street? Was this the quick change of place which baffled pursuit? Surely the folly of that man is not small, and his effrontery is far greater, who can presume to claim credence for these monstrous absurdities. Can any man in his senses believe, that if my father had covenanted with Government for wealth and reward, as the terms for giving such information as should surely crush the mighty conspiracy in Ireland, that he would have lost three opportunities of securely delivering up its very soul; the man whose name alone was a source from which courage and confidence were infused into every heart from the highest to the lowest of his party; yet Mr. Moore must contrive to reconcile these absurd contradictions, before he can expect any of his readers, unless besotted by prejudice, or enervated by laziness equal to his own, to accept his "*it appears,*" "*we find,*" "*there can be hardly any doubt,*" as good and sufficient authorities to establish the heinous charge that my father's aim was to betray Lord Edward to the Government.

In describing the events of the 11th of March, Mr. Moore says, that Lord Edward's place of concealment was then kept secret even from his family. From this I draw an unanswerable argument. If his Lordship was in necessary concealment on the 11th of March, Government had sufficient ground for arresting him. My father had at that time given Mr. Cope information of the meeting to be held at Bond's the next day; he also knew where Lord Edward was, and even went to

see him on that day, and yet his Lordship was not arrested ! and why was he not arrested ? Because my father went all lengths to shelter him, even to the incurring the greatest risk of his own life.

But lest some of Mr. Moore's readers should take the liberty of using their reason, by which they would at once see the absurdity of imputing to my father the design to betray Lord Edward, who " owed his escape solely to his quick change of place," Mr. Moore adds another reason for that nobleman's escape, namely, " that there was one powerful member of the Cabinet " (whom he afterwards states to have been Lord Clare), who " wished to screen his Lordship ;" and Mr. Moore infers that this sole influence was sufficient to paralyze the efforts which all the rest of the Cabinet were making to stop the conspiracy by seizing its leader !

Mr. Moore says, " There can hardly be any doubt " that my father had done his part, therefore Lord Edward's retreat was known—the time to take him was specified—and the facilities the greatest ; but *one* member of the Cabinet caused this important arrest to miscarry.

A little attention to Mr. Moore's account will show that this second reason is no better than the first. He first tells us that Lord Edward's " quick change of place baffled his pursuers," but finding that this was rather too ridiculous for any one to believe, if my father had given notice to the Government of the " place and circumstances of his interviews" with his Lordship, he adds in the same paragraph that " it was more pro-

bable that the wish for his escape entertained by one member of the Cabinet" ensured his safety ; and he says that wish was expressed to Mr. Ogilvie " a short time before the arrests of the 12th of March."* But Mr. Moore himself well knew that whatever willingness Lord Clare might have expressed to Mr. Ogilvie to permit Lord Edward's escape before the arrests of the 12th of March, the disclosures which those arrests occasioned of the designs of the conspirators, and of the extent of their preparations, joined to Lord Edward's refusal to avail himself of the proffered mercy, determined the Government to proceed with the utmost vigour and activity against him. And Mr. Moore felt himself compelled to admit this fact, although he also felt that the admission would necessarily overthrow the whole calumny which he had founded upon the contrary supposition. He accordingly makes the following statement ; but to prevent his reader from immediately detecting, and seeing through his misrepresentation, he omits the date, and leaves the time in apparent obscurity. " At the period where we are now arrived" (he is speaking of the 12th of March, when Leinster-house was searched), " the alarm of the Government for their own existence superseded every other thought, and all considerations of mercy were lost in their fears ; the search after his Lordship, by the emissaries of authority, was pursued with as much eagerness as political zeal, urged by fear and revenge, could inspire,"* and

* Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, vol. ii. p. 57.

† Ibid. p. 59.

accordingly we find from Mr. Moore, that Mr. Swann held a separate warrant for the arrest of Lord Edward, as early as the 12th of March, and was unremitting in his search for his Lordship. According to Mr. Moore, my father, "doubtless," gave information of Lord Edward's hiding-place on the 14th, and of his appointment with that nobleman at the same place on the following evening. Why then, again I ask was he not taken? What becomes of the wily accusation? Vainly has Mr. Moore laboured to confuse his readers, the least attention to dates must detect the calumny.* I shall sum up these remarks by noticing one word which must have sadly embarrassed Mr. Moore.

After describing three separate interviews with Lord Edward, he says, "That Reynolds gave prompt information to his employers, of the time and circumstances of *this interview*, there can hardly be any doubt." He would not say of *these interviews*, because the absurdity would strike the most careless reader. No one could suppose that if my father had told the Government, on the evening of the 14th that he had an appointment with Lord Edward for the next evening, that Lord Edward could have escaped; Mr. Moore, therefore, spoke of interviews in the singular number, in the expectation that most of his readers would apply his reasoning to the last interview alone, without noticing the absurdity of the supposition, that the man who

* How does Mr. Moore reconcile his account of Lord Clare's kind conduct, as detailed at p. 57 of his second volume, with his unnecessary severity, as set forth at pp. 133 and 146?

intended to betray Lord Edward would have kept the place of his concealment a secret until Lord Edward had left it, instead of pointing it out on the previous morning, while he was still there. Mr. Moore knew full well that very many of his readers will adopt his opinions as a matter of course, for unfortunately the mass of mankind do not take the trouble of forming their own opinions, but content themselves with adopting those of their favourite author. The very character of Mr. Moore's writings* is such as to render him a popular author, especially among the young and inexperienced, but I am much deceived if persons of riper years and more sober judgment will attach great weight to the reasonings or opinions of a man who could so prostitute his talents as to send forth to the public a volume so scandalous, that he was ashamed even to affix his own name to it—a man whose life has been passed in endeavouring “to extract a fragrant essence from pro-

* Mr. Moore, speaking of *The Press* newspaper, which was established in Dublin, in 1797, for the purpose of forwarding the views of the Union, tells us, that in it he made his first essay as a writer of prose, and adds that “among those extracts from its columns which are appended to the Report of the Secret Committee, for the purpose of showing the excited state of public feeling at that period, there are some of which the blame or the merit must rest with an author who had then but just turned his seventeenth year.”

Thus it appears from his own confession that at the early age of seventeen, Mr. Moore had enrolled himself in the ranks of sedition. Is it surprising that the man whom he asserts to have been the means of saving Ireland to Great Britain, should be the object of Mr. Moore's unceasing calumny?

Could the article addressed to the students of Trinity College, inserted in the first volume, at p. 179, be one of Mr. Moore's productions?

fligacy, whereby he might pollute our drawing-rooms," forgetting how few of the youth who are corrupted by the Erotic effusions of this "Irish *gentleman*," imitate him in going "in search of a religion" in their old age.

I will now proceed to give an account of the arrest and death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, which will prove most incontrovertibly the utter impossibility of my father's having had any hand in it: the slightest attention to dates will suffice to destroy any impression of that kind, which the perusal of the "*Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald*," or any such publication may have occasioned.

Early in the month of May, Government had information that an insurrection would be attempted about the 20th of the same month, the preparations for which were made throughout the association in so bold and undisguised a manner, as left little difficulty in obtaining the fullest intelligence of all their views.

Lord Edward was still at large and undiscovered, and, therefore, in order to prevent him from placing himself at the head of this insurrection, the Privy Council offered a reward of 1000*l.* for his apprehension.

That proclamation was published on the 11th of May, and the Secretary of State had information of the place of his retreat on the 18th of the same month. Within seven days after the reward was offered, he was betrayed. During two months previously, nothing was to be gained by betraying him, therefore, the secret was kept. Such was the boasted faith of the United Irishmen to their associates!

It has been seen in the course of this narrative, that

my father was arrested at Kilkea by Captain Erskine, on the 21st of April, and held by him in confinement until the 29th; and that again on the 4th of May, he was arrested by Colonel Campbell's orders, and lodged a close prisoner in Athy gaol until the 6th; he was then sent under a strong guard, still as a close state prisoner, and in custody of a King's messenger, to Dublin, where he was lodged in the castle, from his rooms in which fortress he never stirred out until the end of July following, having a sentry at his outer room door, another on each of three landing-places, and two at the foot of the stairs, who allowed no soul to pass without special orders each time from the Secretary of State. This was done to preserve him from assassination. It will also be remembered that before he was thus sent to Dublin, his hostility to the United Irishmen was known and published in all the daily newspapers, and their hatred of him was as open and avowed. It is therefore evident that he, a prisoner, the known, open, and avowed enemy of the United Irishmen, could not possibly have known anything of Lord Edward's movements on the 18th, more than a fortnight after he had been a close prisoner, and after his decided hostility to the United Irishmen, and theirs to him, had become known to the whole kingdom. He would certainly have been the last man in Ireland intrusted with the secrets of their only remaining leader of rank or consequence; and had he even been inclined to commit so base an action as that of betraying him, it could not possibly have been in his power to

have done it. He had not since the 15th of March known anything of Lord Edward, who was continually changing his quarters; but supposing that all Lord Edward's movements up to the day of my father's final arrest, which was on the 4th of May, had been known to him, how was he to know Lord Edward's actions or retreat on the 18th of May? Who was to tell them to him, or for what purpose was he to be told them? Would not Lord Edward himself and all his party take tenfold precautions against him the moment they knew of his connexion with the Government, which from the hour of his arrest was known to all the kingdom. And again, if my father had known the place of Lord Edward's retreat when he was himself brought up to Dublin as a prisoner, why not have made that secret known then on the 7th, and thus have prevented the necessity of the proclamation of the 11th? The calumny is too absurd, and I trust I have fully shown the impossibility of its truth.

The following account of Lord Edward's arrest is that which my father received from Major Sirr and Mr. Swann; the former of these gentlemen is still living, and can correct me if I have misstated anything.

On the 18th of May, Mr. Edward Cooke, who was then the Under Secretary of State, sent for Mr. Charles Sirr, the town-major, a brave, active, and intelligent magistrate, and told him that if he would go on the following day, between five and six o'clock in the evening, to the house of one Nicholas Murphy, a dealer in feathers and timber, in Thomas-street, he would there find

Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and Mr. Cooke gave Major Sirr a warrant for his arrest ; Major Sirr reconnoitred the premises as well as he could that evening, and next day communicated his commission to Mr. Swann, requesting his aid, and also to a Mr. Ryan, in whom both those magistrates had great confidence. Mr. Ryan was then editor of a newspaper, in which he had permitted the insertion of many paragraphs highly injurious to Lord Edward, which had created a feeling of great resentment in his Lordship's mind towards Mr. Ryan. Major Sirr also provided nine of the Londonderry militia, and had them dressed in coloured clothes. Major Stirling, now her Majesty's consul at Genoa, and Dr. Bankhead, who were both officers in that regiment, went with them dressed in their uniforms.*

It is a remarkable fact that Lord Edward only went to Murphy's house on the night of the 18th of May, and the Secretary of State had such certain intelligence of his intention to go there, *before he went*, that he instructed Major Sirr, who was to conduct the arrest, and furnished him with his warrant at noon on that day, which was eight or ten hours before Lord Edward's arrival.

Messrs. Sirr, Swann, and Ryan, with their party, were to proceed in two hackney coaches to Murphy's house ; Major Sirr had also arranged for a strong body of military to march from the barracks, so as to arrive

* These gentleman are both living ; the former at Genoa, the latter in Paris. I appeal confidently to them both, whether the account I here give is not, in all the main facts, correct.

at Murphy's very quickly after the coaches, in order to insure the safety of the party from the mob, which in that part of Dublin was almost certain to collect quickly. Major Sirr's first care on arriving, was to place his nine men so as to secure all the entrances, front and rear. While he was thus employed, Mr. Swann rushed up stairs, followed by Mr. Ryan, the ground floor being entirely occupied by the counting-house and other commercial arrangements.

On the first floor they did not see any one, but the dinner-table seemed to have been very recently occupied, having on it the remains of a dessert and wines. They quickly reached the second floor, without yet having seen any person in the house; they opened the door of the front bed-room, which was not locked nor bolted; in that room was Murphy standing near the window towards the street, having in his hand a paper which he seemed to be in the act of reading, and on the bed was Lord Edward Fitzgerald, half undressed. On a chair by the bedside lay a case of pocket pistols; Mr. Swann ran forward, pushing between the chair and the bed, saying, "Lord Edward Fitzgerald, you are my prisoner; we are a strong party, resistance is useless."

Lord Edward sprang up, and, with a double-edged dagger, which he had somewhere about his person, struck at Mr. Swann's breast. Mr. Swann put up his hand to ward off the blow: his hand was pierced through at the knuckle of the fore-finger, and was literally stuck for a moment to his side. The dagger

went in at the side of his breast, and, running along the ribs, came out close to the bladebone behind. Mr. Ryan now rushed forward, and fired a pistol at Lord Edward, but missed him. Lord Edward knew him, and, exclaiming "Ryan, you villain!" he pulled the dagger, of which he had never quitted hold, from Mr. Swann's body, struck Mr. Ryan with it at the pit of the stomach, and, drawing it back, ripped his belly open down to the navel. Messrs. Swann and Ryan had both grasped Lord Edward round the body, who as yet unhurt, made for the door, where Mr. Ryan let go his hold, and fell to the floor, with his bowels hanging out; but Mr. Swann still held on. There was a ladder in the lobby, outside the door, leading to the loft, which opened to the roof. This had all been prepared as a mode of escape, if needful; and to this means of flight Lord Edward was rushing, when finding his progress impeded by Mr. Swann's weight, so that he could not mount the ladder, he lifted his arm to strike him again with the dagger which he still held. All this passed perhaps in less than a minute.

Meanwhile the military from the barracks had arrived, and Major Sirr having completed his arrangements, entered the hall, and began to ascend the stairs, when, hearing the firing above him, he rushed up with a pistol in his hand, just at the instant Lord Edward had lifted up his arm to despatch Mr. Swann: he fired without hesitation, and hit Lord Edward on the arm near the shoulder. The arm fell powerless, and Lord Edward became a prisoner. Such are the precise particulars of

this arrest, and such were all the persons engaged in it, up to the moment of Lord Edward's being a prisoner.*

During all this time, it will naturally be asked, what became of Murphy, Lord Edward's host, a man in the prime of life and strength? He remained a silent spectator, although it must be evident that the smallest aid would have removed Mr. Swann, and escape was easy and certain through the loft. The window where Murphy stood looked on the street; it was not more than thirty feet from the ground, the area, and flagged-way under it, advanced full twelve feet into the street, so that the coaches could not drive closer than fourteen feet to the front wall of the house. It seems surprising that two hackney-coaches with four-

* *The New Cork Evening Post* gives a somewhat different version. It says that upon Mr. Swann's calling on Lord Edward to surrender, "His Lordship immediately stabbed Mr. Swann with a dagger; the latter fired, they struggled; Lord Edward in the struggle wounded him a second time, the dagger glanced upon his ribs; Mr. Swann staggered back crying out that he was killed, Captain Ryan then rushed in and presented a pocket pistol, it missed fire, he drew a sword from his stick, the sword bent double upon the body of Lord Edward, the latter staggered and fell backwards upon the bed; Captain Ryan threw himself upon him; Lord Edward plunged the dagger into Captain Ryan's side, they grappled with each other, Captain Ryan endeavouring to wrest the dagger, Lord Edward stabbing him and eluding his grasp. The whole business was so instantaneous, that Major Sirr had only time to reach the room door from hearing the discharge of the first shot, he rushed in, saw Captain Ryan and Lord Edward struggling and entwined upon the floor. Major Sirr discharged a pistol, and wounded Lord Edward in the shoulder; the latter then cried out for mercy and was secured. Captain Ryan received fourteen wounds."

teen men, stopping in such a position, should not have attracted his notice. It seems also very extraordinary, that with such a guest in his house, every door, from the top to the bottom, was left open and unguarded, and the house altogether so deserted, that no soul was seen in it but the owner. The slightest alarm was sufficient to ensure escape before Mr. Swann could have got up stairs; the slightest assistance equally ensured it after the attack. Perhaps all this was accident. I merely recount the events as they were related to my father by Major Sirr and Mr. Swann: by the former, on the morning of the 20th; and by the latter, on his recovery.*

Murphy was arrested, but no further questioned. Lord Edward's wound being dressed, he was carefully removed; but the ball having entered the cavity of his chest, an inflammation ensued, which caused his death on the 4th of June.

Mr. Ryan's wound never for a moment left a hope of his recovery: he died in a few days. His widow received a pension for her life. Mr. Swann recovered, and, with Major Sirr, gave evidence of the facts of the arrest before the Houses of Lords and Commons, when a bill of attainder was passed against Lord Edward, and his estate was sequestrated; but it was immediately restored, as I have before stated.† The property con-

* Since writing the above I have had the pleasure of seeing Major Sirr, whose account of the arrest agrees in all respects with the statement I have given.

† See p. 174.

sisted chiefly, if not solely, of the lands of Kilrush, in the county of Kildare, and produced about 700*l.* a-year.

It is foreign to the object of this narrative to enter into any discussion of the motives and circumstances which led this nobleman to associate himself with such men and for such purposes. He had served in the British army in America with honour and integrity. He was an agreeable, amiable man ; an enthusiast in friendship as in politics. He died lamented by his many friends, and regretted by every one who was not blinded by the party animosity of the moment. In stature he was much below the middle size ; he was little more than five feet five inches in height, and not seemingly robust ; but active, well made, and sufficiently strong. His eyes were very grey, and much hair grew on his cheeks above the beard, which gave him a very peculiar and not uninteresting countenance.

As to the romantic description Mr. Moore gives about the dagger,* it is all fiction. It was a plain dagger about eight inches long in the blade, which was sharp-pointed and thick down the middle, sloping to a fine edge on each side, having a black handle. If Lord Clare was possessed of this dagger, and gave it, as Mr. Moore says, to Mr. Browne, it would be curious to know how Lord Clare became possessed of it ; for I affirm positively that Mr. Swann had it, and shewed it, with much pride, during several months. It was

* Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, vol. ii. p. 94. *

'at length stolen off his desk, and never was heard of more, as far as he could learn. My brother now possesses a similar dagger, which, I believe, was given to my father by Lord Edward Fitzgerald on the night of the 15th of March, in exchange for the pistols.

I am aware of the danger of entering the lists against so popular a writer as Mr. Moore. I have no pretension to literary power; I feel myself unequal even to the task of mere compilation, but, thank God, I have truth on my side—a shield sufficient to protect me against all opposition. I feel that I have devoted a somewhat disproportionate space, and probably I have exhausted the patience of the reader, in refuting Mr. Moore's incoherent, contradictory, but, nevertheless, most mischievous statements; but this will not have been in vain if, in addition to vindicating my father's character, I have shewn the utter worthlessness of these romances, which Mr. Moore imposes on the world for biography; and still less will my labour have been wasted if I have contributed to awaken those reflections in Mr. Moore's mind which will induce him to devote his talents henceforth to repairing the offences of a literary career, begun in lewdness and continued in slander.

CHAPTER XIII.

Mr. Reynolds takes a house in London—He goes to Uske in Monmouthshire, and is reconciled to Mr. Henry Witherington—Mr. Henry Witherington marries Miss Bird—Singular adventure of that lady's mother—Mr. Reynolds returns to London; and is reconciled to Colonel Witherington—Mr. Reynolds goes to Sidmouth—Slandered by the United Irish party—Lord Castlereagh's letter—Mr. Reynolds returns to London—Henry Witherington's death—Colonel Witherington goes to Buenos Ayres—On his return he sells out of the army—Mr. Reynolds sent to Lisbon—Colonel Witherington's ungrateful conduct—Mr. Reynolds recovers all the arrears due to the British Post-office by the Portuguese government—He puts an end to smuggling on board the British packets—and makes arrangements for the more regular conveyance of soldiers' letters—His account of the battle of Busaco—Flattering testimonials received from the heads of the Post-office.

1800 to 1810.

ON his arrival in London, my father purchased a house in Baker^a Street, Portman Square, which he furnished and fitted up as his future residence. Soon after he had fixed himself there, he met with Sir William Dunkin, who had married a Miss Blacker, one of my mother's cousins. Sir William had lately returned from India, where he had long been a judge in the presidency of Calcutta. This meeting led my father and mother into a very agreeable but expensive circle of acquaintances, chiefly East Indians of large fortunes; and thus the first season they passed in England held out the promise of quiet and peace.

About this time (1800) Mr. John Heavyside, who had married my mother's sister, lost his situation in the Bank of Ireland, and having no remaining support but the interest of his wife's fortune, they joined with Henry Witherington, who had sold out of the army for a sum of 400*l.*, which his brother Edward received, and for which he paid him six per cent. interest. With these united incomes they went to Wales, and took a lease of a very small cottage and garden on the bank of the river, near the village of Uske, in Monmouthshire, for which they paid 20*l.* a year. Mr. Heavyside was an expert fisherman, and the river abounded with salmon, eels, trout, &c. ; their garden produced all the common vegetables, and was cultivated by themselves ; game and poultry were very cheap and abundant, so that their actual outgoings were very trifling ; and small as was their income, they lived independently upon it.

My mother, always kind and affectionate to her family, invited Mr. and Mrs. Heavyside to pass a few months with her in Baker Street, where they remained from January to July 1801. About the beginning of 1802, my father finding the expenses of London greatly exceed his income, resolved to retire into the country ; and having heard that Swansea was a cheap and agreeable residence, he sold his house in Baker Street, and set off for that place in March 1802, purposing to pass a few years in that country, until his children should be of age to be sent to school. The route lay through Monmouthshire, leaving Uske about three miles on the left. My mother would not pass so

near her sister without seeing her ; but in consequence of what had passed on the Irish trials, they would not go to a house where Henry Witherington was in any way a resident. They therefore stopped at the principal inn at Abergavenny, and sent to invite Mr. and Mrs. Heavyside to come and pass a day with them. In the evening of the same day, Henry Witherington walked over to Abergavenny, and wrote a note requesting an interview with my father, when he gave such explanations as he thought proper of the causes of his former conduct, and his subsequent repentance. My father admitted his excuses. Mr. John Heavyside drew up a paper acknowledging that all Henry Witherington had sworn upon the trial of Oliver Bond was false ; that he had been over persuaded on that occasion, by his brother, Colonel Witherington, and expressing his sorrow that he had been prevailed upon to commit so base an act ; which paper Henry Witherington signed, and my father consented to be reconciled to him. A tolerable lodging, sufficient for the accommodation of his family, being just then vacant at the house of Doctor Davis, at Uske, my father went there, and relinquished for the time his intended visit to Swansea.

It may be asked, what could have induced my father to permit his family ever to put on even the appearance of acquaintance with Henry Witherington, after such injuries as those he had received at his hands ? Had he continued to reside in Ireland, he might not have permitted it, for in Ireland his conduct and my father's

were known ; and if the abettors of sedition and rebellion were my father's enemies, the supporters of the throne, and the friends of peace and good order were his supporters and friends also. But in England, where the affairs of Ireland were but little known, and less interesting to individuals, they were soon forgotten ; he had no friends or natural connexions in that country, which abounded in runaway Irish rebels, who spared no pains to destroy his reputation, and push him and his family from society. One of their chief grounds of calumny rested on the evidence of Henry and Edward Witherington ; and my father would naturally be willing to demonstrate the falsehood of that evidence. Delicacy towards the memory of Mrs. Witherington, who was a most excellent woman, and whose only failing arose out of her affection to her father, and deference for my mother's feelings, which would have been deeply wounded by the further exposure of private and family matters, prevented my father from instituting a prosecution against Colonel Witherington and his brother immediately after the Rebellion, by which the facts would have been set in a clear light. When, therefore, an opportunity for reconciliation offered itself, he might consider that if these men were seen familiarly intimate in his house, and living at his table, either they must be convinced of the falsity of their insinuations on the trials, and desirous to proclaim that conviction to the world by their intimacy with the man they had so falsely calumniated, or else they must be the meanest and most abandoned scoundrels on earth,

to live in the house of the man they believed capable of *tampering with the life of their mother, and unworthy of credit in a court of justice on his oath.* These considerations doubtless weighed deeply with my father, and induced him to accept the apology offered by Henry, which was drawn up in writing, and witnessed by Mr. Heavyside. It is sufficient here to say, that he threw the blame on his youth, and his being entirely under the guidance of his brother Edward, and that his apology contains a formal disavowal and retractation of all he had advanced on his oath in the Court.

In a letter, which is now before me, my father thus speaks of his residence at Uske:—

“ I may say with great truth that the only perfectly happy and peaceable time I have ever passed since the year 1798 was that which I passed at Uske. There, free from political broils, I passed my time in the care of my young family, and in the recreation of field sports, which I then enjoyed in the most abundant and ample freedom ; a pack of harriers was kept by a Mr. Reese, who rented the salmon river, and who was also post-master of the district. My friend, Mr. Williams of Llangibby, kept an excellent pack of fox-hounds. The grouse hills were within two hours’ ride of us, where moor game was so abundant, that, on the last day I ever went out, Mr. Williams and I shot twenty-seven brace of grouse ; all the lowlands, as far as Ragland Castle, abounded with hares, partridges, and a sufficient sprinkling of pheasants, woodcocks, and wild

fowl in great numbers in the season, Salmon and all river fish for the taking, and a good deer park at Llangibby, where Mr. Williams killed several deer every year. We remained in this land of peace and abundance until Henry Witherington's marriage, which broke up his cottage establishment, and once more dispersed us all."

About three miles from Uske, towards Abergavenny, was an extensive wood named Goytra. In the centre of this wood was an open space of sixty or eighty acres of good tillage land, to which there was no other access than the swampy lanes worn among the trees by the passage of cattle; and being crossed by the great roots of the trees, the intervals were sunk into muddy holes, two or more feet deep. This passage of lanes continued for about a mile, leading to the vacant spot in the centre, which was thus almost inaccessible except to foot passengers. In this lonely, and I must add dreary, wilderness, resided a charming family named Bird. The head of this family was a colonel, and an American Royalist, who had adhered to England in the struggle for independence, and thereby suffered very considerably in his property. One of his sons was a major-general in the British service. The story of the family, as related by Henry Witherington, was singular. It appears that towards the close of the American war the father, then a Major in the British service, was sent on a mission into that part of the interior which was still occupied by the original natives. On his arrival in the Indian village, he was surprised to see a girl of about

sixteen years of age, evidently European: he learned from her, that when she was only seven years old, the Indians surprised her family, whose name she mentioned, and who had been well known to Major Bird as persons of station and property, and who had long been lamented as lost. Her father, mother, brothers, sisters, and servants were all massacred; she alone was preserved and adopted by an Indian to replace his own child, who had just died, and who had been of her sex and age; and she had ever after been educated as an Indian; hunting, shooting, and doing all the household work like one of themselves, whose manners had become perfectly her own, and she was entirely reconciled to her situation when Major Bird arrived. She however rejoiced when he explained to her that he had known her family, and she agreed with little difficulty to his proposition to carry her off to the European camp. This was a difficult and very hazardous undertaking; if caught in their flight, or if their intention should be even suspected, the deaths of both parties would be inevitable. The camp lay at the distance of three long days' journey, through woods and swamps, where every pass was well known to the Indians. Major Bird was quite alone, excepting two Indians of another tribe, who had accompanied him from the British camp in the capacity of guide: they were on foot, he was well mounted. His having spoken English to the girl, seemed to have awakened suspicion, as he was more narrowly watched during the rest of his stay, which was, in the whole, four days. At length

the hour of his departure arrived, he took leave of the Indians, and proceeded very slowly along the wood path for a couple of miles, followed only by his two guides. The girl had left her hut some time before, on pretence of fetching something for her household purposes, and had advanced thus far, where she awaited his coming. She sprang up behind him as he passed, and off they set at full speed, leaving the astonished guides to follow as they could. These poor fellows were no more heard of, and were supposed to have been massacred by the incensed natives. As soon as the girl was missed, a hot pursuit took place, which was not discontinued a moment until they reached the British lines. They were several times in view of their pursuers, but fortunately never within shot of them; they never halted but in great plains, where the eye could see for miles around. The pursuit lasted two days and one night; their horse was completely tired out, and a very short time longer must have placed them in the hands of the Indians. Major Bird very soon married the young woman, who must then have been a perfect model of beauty: she was at least fifty years of age when my father saw her at Goytra, and he says she was then one of the finest women he ever beheld. At the conclusion of the American war, Major Bird, who had then attained the rank of colonel, passed over to England with his wife and what little they could collect of their joint property, hoping for employment and remuneration from the British Government for his losses, his services, and his sufferings in the royal cause. But,

alas ! his services were gone by, his losses and his suffering were unheeded, neglected, and forgotten. Finding his hopes disappointed, and his little property diminishing, while his family increased to six daughters and four sons, he took refuge in Monmouthshire, then a very cheap, I may almost say, a wild country, and bought about an hundred acres of land, which was naturally tolerably clear, in the centre of Goytra wood, and there, in a situation as wild, perhaps, as those he had quitted in America, he built himself a stone house of two stories, made a garden, and brought the land into cultivation, and with care and economy contrived to bring up his large family in plenty and independence, but in total solitude. They were all as wild and active as the Indians themselves, but withal well bred, modest, elegant, and genteel: all those who were grown up when my father saw them, both men and women, resembled their mother in the beauty and symmetry of their persons. Colonel Bird had been dead some years; the daughters were all then at Goytra. The eldest son, Henry Bird, was then a Captain in the line; the second son was an Ensign; the third was a free scholar on the foundation of the Bluecoat Hospital in London; and the fourth was at Goytra, being only about eight years of age. Henry Witherington married Maria, the second daughter of this family: she had but six pounds a year, being her proportion of her father's pension, which my father procured for him, with some difficulty, at the War Office. On the marriage taking place, my father settled on Henry Witherington 20*l.* a year during his life,

and he ought to have received about 100*l.* a year more from his brother, Colonel Witherington, who had possessed himself of all his property, including the price of Henry Witherington's commission, and his portion of their mother's assets. Feeling the necessity of using some exertion to aid his family, Henry obtained a Lieutenant's commission in the Monmouth militia. These young persons were married in the church at Uske by the Rector, the Rev. Thomas Williams, in the presence of every connexion of both sides who was in that country, and it is rather a remarkable circumstance, that although Mr. Heavyside was present, yet it was to my father that Henry Witherington applied to give away the bride.

After passing about a year in Monmouthshire, my father went to Bath, where he remained during the summer of 1803, when, finding it necessary to commence the education of his children, he returned to London, and hired a small unfurnished house in Bryanstone Street, Portman Square, where he resided chiefly, with the exception of occasional summer excursions, until the year 1810. A few days after his return to London, an old friend, Colonel David Mellefont, called on him for the avowed purpose of effecting a reconciliation between him and Edward Witherington. The same motives which had induced my father to consent in Henry's case to forgive the injuries he had received, would, no doubt, operate still more strongly in Edward's, as the latter had been in much more violent and known hostility to him. A meeting was therefore ar-

ranged to take place on the following Sunday in Kensington gardens, where, after Colonel Witherington had repeated the apologies which had been previously made on his behalf by Colonel Mellefont, they paraded together in the great crowd, which in those days used to fill those walks, and Colonel Mellefont and Edward returned with my father to Bryanstone Street to dinner. The 9th Dragoons were then on King's duty, and quartered about Hounslow; Edward passed the most of his time in London; the back bedroom of my father's house was appropriated to his sole use, and he lived entirely at my father's table and expense. This continued without interruption whenever he was in London, until the month of March, 1810. But though my father thus consented to overlook Colonel Witherington's conduct, many of his friends refused to admit him. Sir William Dunkin and his family, who then resided in London, and paid my father every attention, never would take the least notice of him, nor ever permit any introduction, although the relationship was the same as between them and my mother.

About the year 1808, the measles, which were fatally violent in London, attacked all the younger members of our family very severely, and, in order to restore our health, my father found it necessary to go to the sea-side; he therefore let his house for the summer furnished, and repaired to Sidmouth, where he hired the rectory-house from the Rev. Mr. Jenkins.

By this time the horrors of the Irish rebellion began to be forgotten, and such of the friends and abettors of

the rebels as remained, began to hold up their heads in the meetings of the English Jacobins, who, under pretence of seeking reform in Parliament, spread discontent throughout the kingdom. O'Connor and his companions, who had confessed their treasons, not being able to obtain permission to reside in any other country, had been sent to Fort George, in Scotland, until they or their friends could obtain such a permission: a few did obtain it, but it was not until the peace of Amiens, that the whole body, amounting to seventy or eighty, could be set at large. France then admitted them all. These men carried with them all the rancour of disappointed rebels, and when the war was soon after renewed, they were employed by the enemy to spread sedition and discontent, by means of their adherents in Great Britain, while *The Argus* newspaper, printed in English at Paris, circulated the grossest and most calumnious libels on the English nation and Ministry. Some gentlemen of property residing in the neighbourhood of Exeter, Sidmouth, Exmouth, &c., being warm advocates for reform, were also anti-ministerial, and embraced every occasion to embarrass the administration. Some Irishmen of the rebel party had taken up their temporary residence in this genial neighbourhood, where they were received and protected by these radical gentlemen, while their proximity to the coast afforded them frequent occasions for intercourse with their associates in France, and enabled them to receive and transmit information and instructions.

Totally unacquainted with these men, and quite

ignorant of their proceedings, chance alone, and a hope of enjoying at a cheap rate a genteel society, sea-bathing for his family, and exercise for himself, had brought my father to Sidmouth. But they thought otherwise. Lord Castlereagh was the Secretary of State, and conscious of their own criminal proceedings, and how much they had to fear from a discovery, my father's arrival spread alarm among them. They imagined, or pretended to imagine, that he was sent down by the minister to watch over them; although the slightest reflection would have shewn them that if ministers thought it proper to send such an agent as they chose to allude to amongst them, my father would have been the last they would or could choose for such service. If it were possible that he could have accepted, or that any minister could have presumed to offer him, such a commission, they and he must both be equally blind and wicked; for, known as he personally was, Lord Castlereagh himself might as well have gone on such a mission, and perhaps with better hopes of success. Blinded, however, by their fears, and urged by their hatred towards my father, they chose to think otherwise, and sought to drive him away, first by anonymous threatening letters, and finding these had no effect, by spreading throughout the neighbourhood the vilest calumnies as to his conduct in Ireland in 1798, which misrepresentations, aided by the radical gentry in that part of the country, began to gain ground, among the more moderate and loyal; when at length they reached my father's ears. He therefore consulted some of his

acquaintances, and, under their advice, he wrote to Lord Castlereagh, with whom he had not had any direct communication for years. He stated the facts as they stood, and requested him, as best knowing his conduct during the period alluded to, to favour him with a letter stating his real opinion and his true knowledge of it; in consequence of which his Lordship wrote the following letter.

“ Downing-street, 1st August, 1808.

“ SIR,

“ I have been favoured with your letter, and regret to find that any report which can be painful to your feelings should, have been circulated in that part of the country where you have established yourself with your family.

“ The strong sense I shall ever entertain of your very honourable, important, and I must add, disinterested services, cannot fail to make me solicitous upon every circumstance in which the credit and comfort of your family is concerned.

“ The situation I held in Ireland during the Rebellion, best enabled me to judge of the motives which influenced your conduct, and I shall always feel it an act of mere justice to you to state, that your protecting assistance was afforded to the state long before you were known to any member of the Government, that it was afforded in the most useful manner, when the prevention of calamity could be your only motive for making the important communications received from you, that they were made without a suggestion of personal advantage to yourself,

and that my belief is, had it not been for accidental circumstances, not necessary now to refer to, his Majesty's Government in that country might have remained to this day in ignorance of everything relating to you, but of the truly important services you were enabled to render to your country.

“ I am, Sir, with much truth,

“ Your obedient and faithful servant,

“ CASTLEREAGH.

“ To Thomas Reynolds, Esq.,

“ Vicarage House, Sidmouth,

“ Devonshire.”

In seeking this testimony from Lord Castlereagh, my father never supposed that either it or any other evidence could stop or convince any one of the rebel faction, nor indeed in that or in any other circumstance of his life, did he ever seek to stop, to convince, or to conciliate, any one of that way of thinking, whom he always despised too much to trouble himself about them; but he did it to satisfy his friends and to convince the loyal and moderate part of society; and I do hope it will carry conviction to posterity. I am fully satisfied that it, and the other documents contained in this work, will be a lasting evidence to every candid and impartial reader in disproof of the calumnies of my father's enemies.

· Having no personal friends or connexions in that part of England, and aware that his residence would be rendered uncomfortable to his family by the radical party,

he returned to London as soon as his house in Bryanstone-street was vacant, which was in or about February, 1809.

Meantime Henry Witherington's domestic happiness had received a fatal blow ; his wife, to whom he was passionately attached, died, leaving him one child, a daughter, who was received with great affection by Mrs. Bird, at Goytra. Overcome with grief, and totally despairing of all happiness on earth, he sought and obtained an ensigncy in one of the regiments under orders for Walcheren, in exchange for his lieutenancy in the militia ; and recommending the future provision of his child to his brother, in whose hands he deposited whatever property he possessed, he set off, but soon caught the fever which proved so fatal to our troops. He was however recovering, and was ordered home for his more certain re-establishment : on landing at Deal, in company with three other officers, similarly circumstanced, they imprudently indulged in a heavy supper ; the fever returned with increased violence, and all the four were dead in three days.

Henry Witherington died on the 16th September, 1809, before any individual of his family was aware of his return. He was buried at Deal : Colonel Witherington was then in London, and quitted for the purpose, as he said, of going to Deal, to see the place of his interment, and to have a decent monument raised over it, which, on his subsequent return to London, he assured my father he had done ; but my mother being in that county in 1812, went to the church-yard to visit her

brother's grave; no vestige of it could be found, no stone was to be seen, nor could any inquiry discover the least trace of such a thing having ever existed there; the time and spot of his interment, nay, his very name, all was utterly unknown. The daughter has been brought up and educated by Mrs. Bird, without a shilling cost to Colonel Witherington. She has since married Mr. Forgood, of Dartford, in Kent.

Colonel Witherington never gave her a farthing: he assured my father, in Paris, a few days previous to his marriage in 1824, that before he married he would secure the ultimate succession of half his fortune among his sister's and his brother's children, allowing himself to dispose of no more than the remaining half. This of course was mere bombast, but the very declaration shewed the feeling of his conscience on the subject of his acquisitions.

Lieutenant-Colonel Witherington had also in the mean time seen a little service for the first and last time in his life; the 9th dragoons had formed part of the expedition to Rio de la Plata, under General Whitlock. The Lieutenant-Colonel, of course, accompanied it, and was of the number of those who entered Buenos Ayres: the result of that affair is well known. Colonel Witherington had placed himself, with part of his men, in a position where they were but little annoyed by the enemy's fire, which was incessant from all the houses, rendering it imminently dangerous to pass through the streets. The Commander-in-chief was not satisfied with the Colonel's position, which annoyed the enemy

as little as they annoyed him. He therefore sent a dragoon to order the Colonel to repair to him for orders. Colonel Witherington replied that he could not possibly quit his men, who momentarily expected to be attacked. The General then sent one of his aides-de-camp ; Colonel Witherington was still immovable ; his care for his men would not allow him to stir a foot, and there he remained until the affair was over. The proceedings that were taken against General Whitlock saved Colonel Witherington and some others from prosecution. He was advised to sell out, which he did, and having received seven thousand pounds sterling, retired from the army. My father was then in Devonshire, so that he was obliged to look out for lodgings for himself in London, until February, 1809, when he again occupied his former apartment in my father's house ; and being then an idle man, continued to live almost entirely in it until my father sold the house and furniture, preparatory to his departure for Lisbon.

My father now found the expenses of London so great, in consequence of the war, that, notwithstanding the strictest economy, he could scarcely make his income answer the necessary calls upon it. He had long relinquished all thoughts of employment under Government. The Marquis of Wellesley, with whom he had not the slightest acquaintance, was at the head of the ministry for the Foreign department in 1810, and his brother, then Sir Arthur Wellesley, was just commencing his career in Portugal, and made some complaints relative to the mode in which his despatches were forwarded by the

Post-office agents in the Peninsula, which made it necessary to make a change in that department. Lord Chichester was then Postmaster-General, and, without any application from my father, he and Lord Camden fixed on him as a proper person to be placed at the head of it; but as such a place might not entirely suit his expectations, and would be but temporary, they very considerably arranged for his subsequent employment in another situation. On the 2nd March, 1810, he received a note from the Earl of Chichester, desiring him to call upon him without delay: he did so; when his Lordship told him that he and others of his friends had long been anxious to evince their high opinion of him; that the political situation of Europe had hitherto prevented them, but that an occasion now offered in his own department if my father would undertake it. He then read the following note, which he had received from Lord Camden, and which led to his sending for my father.

“MY LORD,

“I write by desire of Lord Wellesley to say, that if you will send Mr. Reynolds to Lisbon for the present, he shall have the first consulship that falls in Europe worth his acceptance, and then the situation at Lisbon shall return to your Lordship’s patronage.

&c. &c. &c. CAMDEN.”

Lord Chichester then explained to my father that, under a treaty between the two Governments, England always had a separate and independent establishment at Lisbon for the management of its Post-office trans-

actions and the government of the packet service, at the head of which was an agent appointed by the British Postmaster-General ; that this agency was always considered to be a place of great trust and confidence, but that, under the new circumstance of the Peninsular war, the trust and responsibility were considerably increased ; that the old salary was 200*l.* a year, though the regular emoluments were said to be four or five times as much, as would be fully explained to him by Mr. Freeling ; that at present an additional rank and trouble would be added by naming him Postmaster-General for the British Army in the Peninsula, and for which he should be remunerated in proportion to his increased trouble, and all additional expenses refunded to him every quarter ; and that, finally, he should himself sign a bond to the Postmaster-General for 1000*l.*, and find two respectable persons to enter into a similar security. Here I must observe that this security was not at all similar to the securities given to the Treasury, which subjects all the properties of those entering into them to extents and executions for ever in behalf of the crown : this security was to the Postmaster-General, and could be cancelled as soon as the engagements under it were made good. Of course he accepted the kind offer made to him, under the terms and understandings mentioned. The regular emoluments were fixed at ten per cent. on the postage of all British letters at Lisbon, which ten per cent. was to be divided between the British agent and the Portuguese post-director ; five per cent. on the value, and five per cent. on the postage of all newspapers,

this to be entirely for the agent alone ; three Spanish dollars, in hard cash, per head, to be paid as permit-money on every passenger sailing from Lisbon in a British packet, no matter what such passenger's rank, age, or description might be. Besides these, there were allowances for stationery, and a quarterly bill was allowed for real outgoings which might be requisite for the service, such as messengers, boat-hire, &c. &c. The printed passports which my father was to give to each person to be admitted on board a packet were all to be printed in London, and sent to him from the General Post-Office. I mention this circumstance particularly, to show that my father was fully authorized by the Postmaster-General in that charge, which was subsequently called in question, first by Mr. Jones, and still later, in Parliament, by Sir Francis Burdett. Those passports produced, on the average of the five years my father occupied the agency, something more than 500*l.* a-year ; but this arose from the vast number of passengers continually going back and forwards, occupied by the concerns of the great British army then in the Peninsula. In ordinary times four packets were sufficient to do all the Lisbon duty : whereas, from the period of my father's going out, there were seven packets put on that station ; and he was continually obliged to apply to the Admiral of the station for a king's ship to aid the service. Eight packets would not have been too much during that period.

My father was allowed only eight days to make his preparations and depart. Mr. Conolly, of Portland-

place, a gentleman of large fortune, who was married to one of my mother's cousins, a daughter of Sir William Dunkin, became, without hesitation, one of his sureties. My father naturally relied on Colonel Witherington for the other. I have already observed that my father had lent him money to purchase his majority, and he was answerable in some degree for his debt of 500*l.* to his sister's fortune; and since the year 1804 his house and table had been used by him as his own. The required security did not at all compromise his property, or demand any advance, or mortgage, or pledge of any sort; it was more to show that my father had responsible friends ready to vouch for his conduct than any real security of cash. Mr. Coutts, his banker, had offered to place 1000*l.* in cash for him in the hands of the Post-office treasurer, Mr. Mortlock, but was told that such a deposit would not answer; and Mr. Coutts could not, as a banker, become security consistently with his engagements to his partners. Colonel Witherington knew all that; and, confiding in him, my father wrote him a note, not making the least doubt of his eagerly embracing so favourable an opportunity to repay his obligations to him. He then went into the city about his other business. During his absence Colonel Witherington called, and saw my mother, and told her *that he had sworn to himself never to go security for any man, and he would not do so for my father.* He left her in tears. Just as he went out Sir Thomas Turton called to pay a visit, and, being on very intimate terms, he expressed his surprise at seeing her in tears.

She, in the feeling of the moment, related to him what had passed, and said that she wept from a feeling of vexation, that her brother, who had received so many kindnesses from, and who had so greatly injured, her husband and children, should have refused such a request. Sir Thomas directly requested her to offer him as security with Mr. Conolly instead of Colonel Witherington. When my father came home, at dinner-time, he learned all this: he accepted Sir Thomas's offer with the thanks and feelings it merited; and wrote a letter to Colonel Witherington, expressive of his feelings towards him, and forbidding him his house for ever.

Having accordingly arranged his securities, and settled his domestic affairs as well as he could on so short a notice, my father set off for Falmouth, and thence by the first packet for Lisbon, where he arrived on the 26th of March, 1810, after a passage of fourteen days. So great was the hurry to have him off that his commission, and all other papers relative to it, were only completed after his departure, and sent to him subsequently by the mail.

Such, after a delay of eleven years, was the measure of favour conferred upon him by His Majesty's ministers.

As England pays the whole expense of the packets to and from Lisbon, she receives a postage on all letters arriving there by her mails. This revenue is not collected in detail by the British agent, who never distributes any letters to individuals. He receives the mails

from the packets, he opens them and takes out the bag for the English Ambassador, and his own bag, both of which are separately prepared and directed in England. He then weighs all the other letters *en masse*, and sends them to the Portuguese Post-office, which pays him, per ounce, a sum which is regulated by what is called the Packet Treaty, made many years ago between the crowns of England and Portugal, deducting ten per cent., which is divided in certain shares between the Packet agent and the Director of the Portuguese Post-office. The military mails or bags were also separately packed and prepared in England, and were taken out by the agent, and sent to the Military Post-serjeant's office in Lisbon, held at the British town-major's; but this was only temporary, and during the Peninsular war. On these military letters no postage whatever was taken by the agent. So great was the quantity that four men were always requisite, and sometimes six men, to carry them to the town-major's office, a distance of about five hundred yards from the packet-agent's. Notwithstanding the deduction of all these bags, yet the quantity of letters sent to the Portuguese office was very considerable, and the postage on their weight amounted to a serious sum. On my father's arrival, he found that the Portuguese office was many years in arrear in payment of this postage. Mr. Chamberlayne, who has since been Consul-General at Rio Janeiro, had been packet-agent at Lisbon for many years: he left a great arrear in the hands of the Portuguese office. Mr. Hart succeeded him, and he not only did not recover any of

Mr. Chamberlayne's arrears, but added all the mails which arrived in his own time to that arrear, and moreover left all his public accounts unsettled. Mr. Walton succeeded Mr. Hart, and left all the mails of his agency to augment those arrears. These two latter gentlemen could not possibly have settled their own mails without first settling for Mr. Chamberlayne's; and the troubles brought on the kingdom by the French army under Junot, &c., threw obstacles in the way of a settlement of arrears increasing by every week's arrival. Mr. Walton, a steady, sensible man, adjusted Mr. Hart's other public accounts, but could not bring the Portuguese office to a settlement, so that the whole remained for my father to effect.

Sir Charles Stuart (now Lord Stuart de Rothesay) was the British Ambassador in Lisbon, and one of the regents of the kingdom during the King's absence at Rio Janeiro; he used his influence with Don Miguel Pereira Forjas, Secretary of State, to effect a settlement of this account, and my father, supported by the Ambassador, urged the demand so effectually, that in August, 1812, he transmitted every penny of arrear to the Post-office in London, and obtained a decree, that in future all accounts should be paid in *hard cash*, by the Portuguese Post-office to the British agent, on the first Friday in every month, so that no arrear could be accumulated. For this service he received the following letter of thanks from the Secretary to the Post-office in England:—

“General Post-office, October 6th, 1812.

“SIR,

“I have received your letter of the 19th September, and am glad to find that you have at length succeeded in making an arrangement with the Inspector of the Portuguese Post-office for the payment of the moneys due to the revenue of this office, and that you will be enabled to prevent any considerable arrears hereafter, it having been agreed that the Inspector shall pay in the course of every month for the letters which shall have been delivered in the month preceding. The anxiety you have shown to bring this point to a favourable conclusion has been correspondent with mine, and does you great credit.

“I am, Sir,

“Your obedient servant,

“F. FREELING, (Secretary).

“T. Reynolds, Esq., Lisbon.”

I said that the future payments were to be made in “*hard cash*,” because, by the then laws in Portugal, payments were made, in every transaction in life, half in metal and half in Government notes, which ~~were~~ issued so low as for six shillings and eight-pence, or 1200 reas, and from that sum upwards, in such various sums as left no difficulty in making out any payment, however complicated, in this half-and-half way. This paper was sometimes at a discount of 40 per cent., and usually at about 30 or 35; so that in fact a sixth of the

whole debt was lost whenever the half-and-half payment took place; therefore, the order for payment *in hard cash*, which my father obtained, secured a full sixth from being lost, not only on the arrears, but on all future payments for mails, to our Post-office.

Meantime he established a degree of order and regularity in the office over which he presided, which had never existed until his time. The river Tagus at Lisbon is about three miles wide, and during the Peninsular war it was the station of an admiral, with a squadron of British ships. We usually had six or eight ships of the line, with a proper proportion of frigates, sloops-of-war, &c., and from four to five hundred transports lying in that river; so that, with merchant-vessels, there were from 500 to 800 sail constantly in the river in front of the city, between the tower of Belem and the point opposite to Boa Vista, or, as the English call it, Bull Bay. The tide flows strong and high, and, the ebb and current uniting on the reflux of the tide, runs with incredible force down the river; so that, although the Tagus is perhaps one of the most secure places in the world for shipping, yet, being so wide, and having so strong a current, it is very necessary that each vessel have sufficient swing-room, particularly during high winds, which are not unfrequent, and sometimes continue for two or three days. Although there was abundance of space, and more might be had if requisite, by sending some vessels up to the bay, opposite to the Custom-house; yet the ship-masters, following their own whims or convenience, lay too crowded together to their own

great injury ; and so negligent were the masters of the merchant and transport vessels, that twelve or fifteen twists were constantly to be seen on their cables, and in high winds ten or a dozen of those vessels were to be seen dragging their anchors and running foul of all in their way. The wear of the cables was very great ; and a whole tide has sometimes been lost in weighing anchor in consequence of the twists. My father had seven packets under his control, attached exclusively to the Lisbon station. Security in laying at their berth, ease in arriving at it, speed in departure at any moment, and saving of wear and tear of cables, were great objects as well to the captains as to the Government service ; and my father was so fortunate as to effect them all. He first obtained an order from the Portuguese Government allotting a convenient space, sufficient for three or four large vessels to lie and swing commodiously, to be exclusively appropriated for packet berths. He then procured one mooring-chain to be laid down at the expense of the General Post-office in London ; and he prevailed on the captains of the seven packets on the station to subscribe for and lay down a second, in consideration of the great saving it would be to them. It was computed that the wear of cables in casting anchor, lying some days and weighing again, possibly in foul weather, could not be averaged under five guineas each time. Each packet made on the average ten voyages in a year ; the mooring-chain would therefore save them nearly 50*l.* a-year, exclusive of the additional security of their anchorage. This advance was in the nature of a

loan, as that mooring-chain was always to be considered the property of the captains, which could be transferred to their successors, whenever any one of them left the Lisbon station. For this arrangement my father received the approbation of the Board at home, as well as of Admiral Berkeley, Sir Charles Stuart, and Lord Wellington, for the readiness with which it enabled him to have despatches sent off; while the captains felt and acknowledged the great benefit they individually derived from the arrangement.

He left these two mooring-chains in the Tagus in the best order; one of them belonging to the English Post-office, the other to the representatives of the seven captains, or to themselves if they are still there.

My father never, under any circumstances, allowed a packet or Post-office vessel to quit the Tagus without going on board and seeing that she was in a proper condition, as well for the comfort of the passengers as for the security of the mails. It happened in March, 1814, that a vessel called the *Eliza* was sent from Falmouth to drop a mail at Lisbon, and then to proceed to Rio Janeiro with mails for that place. She had passengers for both countries. On her arrival in the Tagus my father, as usual, went on board, and did not consider her in a fit state to proceed, not at least without a previous examination. Her commander, who was not of the station, was very indignant at his remarks, and declared he would go, whether my father chose it or not, as he said he was not under his authority, and

laughed at what he called my father's pretended knowledge of the state of his ship. My father directly placed a guard on board, and put the vessel under arrest. He then went to Admiral Berkeley, and requested, officially, that he would order a commission of carpenters of the fleet on the station, to examine and report on the state of the *Eliza*. He gave his opinion and objections in writing. Five master-carpenters from the fleet accordingly examined her, and found her beams decayed, her flooring in a most miserable state, and in fine the whole vessel not sea-worthy. My father immediately took out her mails, and sent them back to Falmouth, and had the carpenters' report communicated to the passengers, (as he had no authority as to them,) leaving them to proceed or not as they thought fit.

* This vessel was not a regular packet, but a vessel hired by the Post-office for the voyage out and home. The captain was very violent, and vowed that his owners, and he himself, would bring an action against my father, but he never heard more from him or them. The following is a letter from the General Post-office to him on that occasion :

“General Post-office, March 31st, 1814.

“Sir,

“I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th instant, respecting the state of the *Eliza* packet. Your proceedings upon this as well as other occasions prove the proper interest you take in the service, which

cannot fail of being highly satisfactory to my Lords the Postmaster-General.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your most obedient servant,

“ F. FREELING,

“ Secretary.

“ To Thomas Reynolds, Esq.,

“ Lisbon.”

The Lisbon packets, as King's ships, carried a pennant, which exempted them from search on entering the Tagus. The captains had for many years taken advantage of that exemption to load their vessels with goods prohibited from all entry in Portugal, and on the arrival of the packet the deck was like a fair, crowded with buyers and sellers. This was overlooked during many years by both governments, because Portugal required some of the articles which were brought out, and, consistently with her treaties with other powers, she could not admit them to come openly from England, under any duties whatever; their being smuggled, therefore, in this manner by the packets was winked at, but it was highly derogatory to the King's pennant, and to the respectability of the packet-service altogether.

By the last Treaty of Commerce between England and Portugal, all those articles were in future to be admitted at a fixed duty, and of course a connivance at smuggling could no longer be permitted. A Packet Treaty was accordingly concluded at Rio Janeiro on the 19th of February, 1810, prohibiting all future importations of goods or wares by the packets. A copy

of that treaty was immediately forwarded to my father, and, as far as it regarded the Lisbon packets, he proceeded to enforce it.

His captains were at first a little rebellious, but, as they were all old captains, who had made fortunes on the station, their pride of rank overcame their desire of further gain: besides, as every merchant-vessel might now bring out the articles, the packets could no longer expect so quick a sale, or such large profits, so that they submitted with a tolerable grace.

My father received the following letters from the Post-office on these two subjects, which had occasioned him the greatest difficulties, as well from the Portuguese Government as from the packets.

“General Post-office, October 15th, 1810.

“Dear Sir,

“Your proceedings in the matter of the regulations of the Portuguese Government, respecting the arrival of the packets in the Tagus, as detailed in your letter of the 15th of September, are highly creditable to you. I enclose a letter from Mr. Hamilton, one of the Under Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs, by which you will see that Mr. Stewart will be immediately instructed to make such representations to the Portuguese Government as may be the means of preventing in future the delay in forwarding the mails.

“I am, dear Sir,

“Yours truly,

“F. FREELING.

“To Thomas Reynolds, Esq.,

“Lisbon.”

“ Foreign Office, October 10th, 1810.

“ SIR,

“ I am directed by the Marquis Wellesley to acquaint you, for the information of their Lordships, the Post-master-General, that the regulation alluded to in Mr. Reynolds's letter of the 15th ultimo, respecting the packets arriving in the Tagus, is strictly conformable to the stipulations of the treaty between his Majesty and the Prince Regent of Portugal, as far as respects the articles of commerce on board the packets; but that Mr. Stewart will be immediately instructed to make such representations to the Portuguese minister as may be the means of preventing in future the delays complained of in forwarding the mail.

“ I am, &c. &c.

“ WILLIAM HAMILTON. .

“ To Francis Freeling, Esq.”

Another matter which my father established on a more secure footing was the forwarding and delivery of soldiers' letters. There were about 35,000 British troops constantly in the field, exclusive of Portuguese, who were about 19,000 effectives. The Spanish force was variable and uncertain. The Guerillas formed a wild and wandering force, a kind of irregular light infantry, which never joined our army, but kept continually hovering round it.

To keep up a British effective force of 35,000 men, exclusive of dépôts, garrisons, infirmaries, and non-effectives of every description, required a constant roll

of full 60,000 men from home, and a still further supply to make good all sorts of casualties. Every one at all acquainted with England must know how very necessary it was that the people at home should know how it fared with such a number of their gallant relations and friends, engaged in the severest contest in which England had ever been involved, and every British officer who has been in service well knows how much of his own, as well as his soldiers' comfort, happiness, and spirit, depend on a regular and constant intercourse, by letters, with their friends at home. To those who write and receive letters it is beyond all expression delightful. Their happiness and enjoyment is communicated through all their *mess*; to those who do not write it is still a great satisfaction to know that they can send and receive letters, if they please, and always with certainty and security. What hundreds of soldiers' letters poured down to Lisbon after every battle! What joy to their friends at home! What comfort to the poor fellows who wrote! We may be assured that many a stout heart rushed forward to the storm of Badajos with redoubled courage on reflecting that what he then did would surely be known to his friends at home, either through his letters or through those of his companions. The British Army thus fought, not only under the eye of their commander, but almost in view of their parents, wives, families, and friends: their deeds did not remain to be reported by their officers in a formal bulletin, which rarely notices the acts of the privates individually; the soldier and his companions reported their own

deeds. I firmly believe this feeling has great influence in active service, and I know it is of sovereign benefit in the infirmary.

Deeply impressed with these sentiments, my father felt he should greatly contribute to the public service by rendering the military post conveyance easy and secure, and by having it *known* that it *was so*.

The regulations required that every soldier's letter to his friends should be forwarded on his paying one penny ; and that every letter addressed to him should be delivered to him gratis, no matter what the distance, or the country in which he was. Many a man had not a penny, and flung his letter without pay into the receiving-box ; others flung in their letter and the penny with it ; but in such a case it could not be known which letter was paid, and which was not. Suppose ten were in the box, and only six or eight pennies, the soldier charged with that service would not himself pay the deficit, so that some letters of necessity remained unnoticed, and probably the very ones which had been paid for. Then, in a foreign coin, it became a question of difficulty to know what constituted a penny ; and the multitudes of soldiers' letters which were found in all the depôts showed that the temptation of converting the pence to their own use was not always resisted by the agents : thus murmurings and complaints soon began to spread. My father had received many communications on the subject ; at length he wrote to head-quarters, and at his suggestion it was ordered that fifteen reas should be esteemed one penny in all posting accounts ; that

persons should be appointed in every regiment, in every depôt, and at every place necessary throughout the line of march and operations of the British troops, to receive soldiers' letters, and to envelop all that they so received under one or more covers, and forward them to my father at Lisbon by every opportunity, marking on the cover the depôt or regiment it came from, and either enclosing the postage at fifteen reas a-letter, or not, at their pleasure. My father took upon himself to keep an account for every regiment and every depôt, and to settle with them afterwards as occasion offered. When the postage was not sent in the cover, the person sending it was directed to sign the back of the envelop as he would sign a franked letter, in order that there might be proper evidence of the sending; and, as my father's situation gave him the privilege of receiving all letters, or parcels of letters, free, through whatever office or channel they came, those parcels were sure to reach him duly, whether by the government expresses or the native post-offices. This obliged him to have a clerk devoted solely to that department, or nearly so, for receiving, assorting, and stamping soldiers' letters, for which he had a stamp made. These arrangements were so satisfactory, that, from the day when they came into operation, he never heard a complaint, and his loss in transmitting such letters as were forwarded to him by inadvertence or otherwise, without either money or address, during the time he remained in Portugal, did not amount to above one pound sterling a-year. *The letters coming for the army were all delivered together at

the office to the sergeant sent by the town-major to receive them on the arrival of each packet from England. No postage or charge of any description was ever made upon them.

The different arrangements I have here mentioned occupied a great deal of my father's time and attention during the first year of his residence in Lisbon, but still he found time to correspond with the heads of his office in England, and as, owing to his situation, no man in the Peninsula had such opportunities for acquiring general and accurate intelligence of passing events as he had, his correspondence was highly considered. Many of the chief articles on Peninsular affairs, submitted to the public by the daily press, were extracted from his letters to the General Post Office.

I regret that it is not in my power to procure that correspondence. I made application to Mr. Lawrence of the Post Office, and to Sir Henry Freeling, to be allowed to see and copy such part as related to the Peninsular war; but neither of those gentlemen could tell me where the original letters were to be found. My father was in the habit of sending copies of these letters occasionally to my mother, or to some of his family, when he thought the subject sufficiently interesting. Some of these have been preserved, but they are unfortunately unconnected; I shall therefore only insert a few of them occasionally. In October, 1810, he writes the following account of the battle of Busaco to my brother and me.

Lisbon, 12th October, 1810.

“MY DEAR BOYS,

“This is a busy time with us here, and my fatigues for the last fortnight have laid me up with pains and aches, which a little rest will cure. I am inclined to think I am a little too old for so much activity, but I shall not trouble you with my complaints ; I keep them for my physician. I regret very much your ages do not permit me to have you with me ; I could place you in situations where you would witness all the manœuvres of the finest campaign ever made, by two armies, each exceeding 60,000 men ; and I think it would have given you enough of soldiership for your lives. I have been on our late field of battle before the dead were removed. Some affairs called me to Lord Wellington’s camp, and I rode over the ground : 2000 Frenchmen and 600 Portuguese and English lay dead ; legs, arms, heads without bodies, in every place. Our line was immensely strong, and on the night of the 26th, Massena, attended by Loison and others, reconnoitred it. Having passed the whole line, he observed to those about him, ‘ This is a position of great strength ; here is the only spot in which it is assailable, but even here it is very strong.’ Loison replied, he had stormed and taken much stronger, and, if Massena would give him leave, he would next day attack it, and he had no doubt of taking it, as it was defended by Portuguese troops chiefly. Loison’s troops were all Frenchmen, and all picked brave veterans. The position he was to attack was up the side of a hill,

which *I* should have found some difficulty in walking up at any time. On the summit were placed the Portuguese, and our 88th and 83rd regiments. Next morning the enemy were drawn up in the plain at the foot of the hill, and opened a dreadful fire of cannon and musketry on the brow, and at the same time Loison's division, with their knapsacks on their backs, marched in a *steady* and *silent* line, three deep, up the hill, in as cool a manner as if they were on parade. Our men had ~~laid~~ themselves down to avoid the fire from below; but the moment the enemy's heads appeared above the brow, our brave 88th sprung up, received the whole of Loison's fire, and rushing on them with the bayonet, tumbled them over and over; bayoneting every one within reach, and driving them, with immense slaughter, down the hill. The 88th lost a great many men, and had sixteen officers wounded by Loison's discharge. Again Loison mounted: he was now received by the Portuguese in the same way as before. A third time he made the attempt, and again the brave Portuguese not only drove him down, but rushed with him into the plain, and there, after a most desperate conflict on equal ground for three hours, the enemy was completely vanquished, leaving 2000 men on the field, and 1000 prisoners in our hands; among whom is one general named Simon, who next day requested leave to send for his wife and effects to the French camp. Colonel Gordon or Mellish, I don't know which, was accordingly sent with a flag of truce, and was most politely received by Loison, who, while he

was conducting him to Massena, was asked by Gordon to say candidly how many men were killed by us the day before. Loison replied, in truth the number was 3000; and then he asked Gordon if the English had not dressed British troops in Portuguese dresses to deceive the French? 'Certainly not,' said Gordon. 'Then,' replied Loison, 'I am amazed; I did not believe it possible that the Portuguese could be brought to fight so like lions.'

"After the charge made by the 80th, and in the midst of the hottest fire, Lord Wellington went up to the Colonel, and shook him by the hand, saying he ought to be proud of having the honour to command such a brave regiment. *They are all Irishmen,*—they are now called '*The Brave Eighty-eighth.*'

"I went yesterday to see our poor wounded men disembark from the boats which brought them to Lisbon, and with them was a French major, whose leg was shot away. We took as much care of him as of our own, at which the Portuguese were much enraged. 'Hang the scoundrel,' said they: fling him into the dead-cart; he is fit only for the dogs.' Forty thousand persons, of all ranks, ages, and sex, arrived here yesterday, driven in by the armies; some on asses, some in carts, some even on oxen; the streets crowded. Six large families slept on the pavement, in my street, all night without covering. Our army protect the inhabitants; but the French murder, violate, and destroy everything. All the country is covered with smoking ruins; houses and whole villages burned. The road is strewn with dead

cattle and broken carts. You cannot conceive anything equal to these scenes ; they would fill a volume. Such are the horrors of war. I have no doubt that the French, who cause all this devastation, will pay dearly, and that directly, for their crimes. God bless you both, my dear children, and I pray neither of you may ever witness such scenes.

“ Your truly affectionate father,

“ THOMAS REYNOLDS.”

At that time Lords Chichester and Sandwich were joint Postmasters-General ; Mr. Freeling (afterwards Sir Francis Freeling) was General Secretary ; and the Honourable Arthur Stanhope was Comptroller of the Foreign Department.

Towards the close of his first year's labours, my father received the following letter from Mr. Freeling :—

Stanmer Park, Sussex, Nov. 27, 1810.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I am here on a visit to Lord Chichester, accompanied by Lord Sandwich ; and it is a particular pleasure to me to be desired by both to express their approbation and thanks for your constant and interesting communications. I add also my own sincere acknowledgments. We are anxiously awaiting the next events from Portugal.

“ Yours, truly,

“ FRANCIS FREELING.”

CHAPTER XIV.

Barbarous execution—The Marquis Camden nominates Mr. Reynolds's son on the foundation of the Charter-house—Mr. Reynolds saves the Honourable Cecil Perry from assassination—The Earl of Limerick's letter to Mr. Reynolds on that occasion—Massena's retreat from Torres Vedras described—Sir Francis Freeling's acknowledgment of the value and importance to the government of Mr. Reynolds's correspondence. Mr. Reynolds's useful attentions to Captain Dynelly, soon forgotten—Diary of the last week of the siege of Badajoz—A slanderous libel is published in Dublin—Mr. Furlong advises Mr. Reynolds to take no notice of it—Colonel Leslie G. Jones insults Mr. Reynolds in his own office—the Colonel's cowardly conduct—he complains to the Postmaster-general—Mr. Reynolds's reply—Mr. Reynolds's conduct approved of by the Postmaster-general—Disgraceful result to Colonel Jones.

1811 to 1813.

ABOUT the month of April, 1811, an act of the most brutal injustice and cruelty, reflecting eternal dishonour upon the unfeeling wretches who ordered it, was exhibited in Lisbon. My father, who was an eye-witness of it, thus relates the horrid scene :—

After the flight of the royal family to Brazil, the French general, Junot, took possession of the entire government of Portugal, and resided at Lisbon in kingly state. He formed a sort of council of Portuguese nobles, with whom he affected to advise : he also formed a staff-corps of Portuguese officers, who were named by this council, and approved by himself. He reigned as an absolute monarch for (I think) about

fifteen months ; until, having lost the battle of Vimeira, he found he could no longer retain his authority ; and, to preserve the city of Lisbon from the ruin with which he threatened her on his retreat across the Tagus, the British commander signed the Treaty of Cintra, by which the French army were to be conveyed in British vessels, with their baggage, to France. Among the Portuguese staff of Junot was a young gentleman of good family, named Mascarenhas, whom he appointed one of his aid-de-camps, and during his residence in Portugal this connexion ripened into a mutual friendship.

On the defeat and departure of the French, Mascarenhas resolved to adhere to his friend, and to quit his family and his country. Junot agreed to his doing so ; no impediment was thrown in the way by the Portuguese government, and he embarked with his effects as Junot's aid-de-camp, and was conveyed with that general to France by the British ship appointed to that service ; this was done openly and publicly, both the Portuguese and the English Governments were aware of, and by their conduct consenting to it.

In 1810 Sir Arthur Wellesley retreated before Massena, from Almeida to the vicinity of Lisbon, and occupied what have been called the Lines, being a number of strong and commanding forts, covering the heights in a double line from the sea-coast, through Mafra and Torres Vedras, quite to the Tagus, which, when properly manned and provided with artillery, and aided by our force in the Tagus, where we then

had eleven ships of the line, and a proportionate number of frigates, gun-brigs, &c., were impregnable.* Our army here enjoyed abundance and rest, and received continual reinforcements by the arrivals from England, while the enemy perished daily through want and fatigue. Their supplies, being drawn from France or Spain, were continually assailed, and frequently lost in the way, by the guerilla parties, which were very numerous. Under these circumstances, Napoleon ordered Junot, with a considerable force, to Massena's assistance. On his entering Spain, Junot thought it prudent to dispatch a messenger to make Massena acquainted with his coming, and for that purpose chose his aid-de-camp Mascarenhas, who, being a native of Portugal, was more likely than any other to pass unmolested from Almeida to the French camp at Sobral, in front of our lines, where Massena had his headquarters. Mascarenhas laid aside his French uniform, and adopted the ordinary Portuguese dress; he had nearly accomplished his purpose when he fell in with a party of plundering marauders, formed of Spaniards and Portuguese, who stopped and robbed both friends and foes, and who had just stopped and robbed some natives of Lisbon, whom they still detained for ransom. These persons recognised Mascarenhas, and the robbers, on learning who he was, made a merit of delivering him over to the Portuguese authorities. Mascarenhas was condemned to be strangled, and then

* We had also a Russian squadron of nine sail of the line, captured by our troops in the Tagus, after the battle of Vimeira.

burned, and his ashes to be thrown into the Tagus, *as a traitor to his country*. Considering the circumstances under which he quitted Lisbon with Junot, I think this sentence was severe; he should have been considered as a French officer. His disguise certainly countenanced his being treated as a spy, but in that case the military execution would not have degraded his family—his property would not have been confiscated—he would not have been led through Lisbon as a spectacle for the populace—he would not have been burned alive, his ashes thrown into the river, and his memory stigmatized as a traitor. My father was acquainted with his mother and sisters; they were then in Lisbon. His family was of rank, and much respected; he was about twenty-four years of age, a fine soldierly-looking man, about five feet ten inches in height, strong and active. On the 5th of April, 1811, this young man was led out for execution; the whole population of Lisbon seemed to be in the streets, which were lined with Portuguese soldiers. The monks of the order of Misericordia have a privilege of saving any malefactor at the moment of his execution, in case the instrument of death fails or breaks in the act of death, provided the criminal enters their order. Strangulation is the usual sentence, and where such a privilege exists, it will be easily imagined that cords steeped in any corroding liquor may be so prepared as to break on a severe strain. In the present case Mascarenhas could not be saved, as his body was sentenced to be burned to ashes. The place of execution was the Quai de Soudré, being a landing-place on

the river-side, about one hundred and fifty yards square, in the centre of Lisbon—that is to say, in the centre of the side of the city which touches on the river. On that Quai was erected for this occasion a pile of dry faggots, about ten feet high, and twelve feet square, through which arose a pole which had been previously fixed in the ground beneath. A chair was placed on the pile in front of the pole, on which the criminal sat, with his back against the pole; a rope was then passed singly round his neck and the pole, and the executioner, who stood behind him, performed his office by twisting the rope at the back of the pole, by means of a stick, until life was extinct.

Mascarenhas left the jail at nine o'clock in the morning, attended by a great body of monks, and a strong escort of military. He was on foot, and stopped, that prayers might be sung on the steps of several churches; at one o'clock, when greatly fatigued, as well by the heat as by every other circumstance, he came in view of his funeral pile, the ascent to which was by half a dozen of boards laid sloping from the ground to the top, with cross-bars nailed upon them to secure a footing. On entering the square he fainted, which caused two or three minutes' delay; he soon recovered and advanced to the foot of the ascent; then he knelt for a moment, covering his face with his hands, as if in silent prayer or meditation. He then stood up, waved his arm in a theatrical manner, by three or four quick strides ascended the pile, and sat down upon the fatal chair. The executioner then pinioned his arms behind,

and his wrists in front. Unfortunately, all the ropes had been old ropes prepared for the *Misericordia* ; the executioner now began his last work. After a severe effort, the rope round the neck broke ; the culprit sprang up from the chair and spoke some words to the executioner, who then took a fresh rope, which again broke in a similar manner. The wretched sufferer now seemed much exhausted ; the executioner had no more ropes ; he therefore took that which had pinioned the arms, and made a third effort, but evidently avoiding a very hard strain, thus prolonging the poor man's sufferings, and from time to time placing his hand on his heart. This continued above half an hour ; he then loosed the cord, laid him on his back upon the pile, descended, and set it on fire. In about twenty minutes the whole was in a blaze, and the heat reached the body ; at that moment Mascarenhas sat up on the pile, vomited violently, and in this horrid state the pile gave way under him, and he sunk among the flames.

If this horrid execution was intended as an example, it entirely failed ; every one grieved, and pitied him, while they execrated his butchers. Weak governments and pusillanimous rulers are always cruel and vindictive.

About the middle of the month of May my father was agreeably surprised by receiving the following letter from the Marquis Camden :—

“ Arlington-street, May 12th, 1811.

“ SIR,

“ I was last week chosen a Governor of the Charter

House, and I do not lose a post in informing you of this circumstance, and in offering you the first turn I have in nominating a boy upon that foundation, for one of your sons, if he is, or will be, of an age to receive it. The boy must be between ten and fourteen, and I fear my turn will not come for a year and a half. I felt most anxious to make the arrangements for your son at a former period. I trust the offer I have now the pleasure of making to you may be of some use to him, and I beg to assure you it will give me great satisfaction to be enabled to show you this mark of my regard.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your most obedient servant,

“ CAMDEN.

“ Thomas Reynolds, Esq.
Lisbon.”

I had then entered my fourteenth year ; and therefore my father feared this kind offer would be of no use to me ; but the Marquis Camden, who never said what he did not mean, and who was desirous of serving my father in deeds and not in words only, applied to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to whom the next turn of nomination fell, who graciously consented to exchange with his lordship ; and in consequence, I was placed on that foundation in the month of September, 1811. I shall have occasion to show in the course of this work, that the same spirit of rancorous hostility which pursued my father through life, and even after

his death, was exhibited by the man who should have acted a father's part to me, to neutralise, as far as in him lay, this valuable appointment, and to blight my prospects in life, because I was my father's son.

The following extraordinary event took place on the 30th of May, 1811. While my father was writing in his office one morning, a young man came running into the room, apparently in great alarm, crying out for protection against assassins who pursued him. My father closed the door, at which a violent knocking was instantly heard, and looking out of a window, my father recognised Mr. M——, the son of a very respectable merchant, accompanied by two other men, armed and bloody, as if they had wounded some person. They demanded to be admitted, and after some parley my father agreed to admit Mr. M—— alone; and then from him, and from the young man who first entered, who was the object of M——'s pursuit, and who proved to be the Honorable Cecil Perry, the son of the Earl of Limerick, he gathered the following story:—Mr. Perry, on his arrival at Lisbon on military duty, was billeted on the house of Mr. M——'s father; the family consisted of Mr. and Mrs. M——, two sons, and one or two daughters. Mr. Perry was a constant guest at their table during his stay in Lisbon, and he usually passed the evenings with the ladies. The result was, that a mutual attachment was formed between him and Miss M——. The family made frequent excursions for a day or two to their house in the country, leaving one or other of the ladies to do the honors

of the town-house. Miss M—— made frequent pretexts to be left in town; and upon these occasions she passed the time generally alone with Mr. Perry. The consequences may easily be surmised—in a short time he had nothing more to ask, she nothing more to give. At length some hints were given to the eldest son. On the 29th of May the family dined early, and went to their country-house in the evening, intending to return next day. Miss M—— staid in town, and passed the night with Mr. Perry. The gentleman arose at eight o'clock in the morning, the lady still slept, and unwilling to awaken her, he locked the door, put the key into his pocket, and went to meet a brother officer at breakfast at an hotel kept by an Englishman, just facing the Rua d'Amenda, a few doors from M——'s residence, and about a hundred yards from my father's. Meantime, young M—— arrived in town, and alarmed at the hints he had received, proceeded directly to his sister's room; not finding her, and observing that no traces appeared of her having passed the night there, he went to Mr. Perry's room, and knocked at the door. Miss M——, thus aroused, used some exclamation which betrayed her presence. He directly forced the door, and found the proof of all he dreaded. Quitting her, he armed himself, a friend, and a servant, followed Mr. Perry to the hotel, and rushed into the room where he was at breakfast with his friend, attended by his servant, who was a soldier. M——, having a naked dirk in his hand, rushed at Mr. Perry, who, seeing his purpose, pushed the whole breakfast-table against him,

sprang up, and ran away. Mr. Perry's servant favoured his master's retreat by opposing himself in the door-way to the assailants, until one of them struck a dagger into his side by a sloping stroke, which inflicted a shocking gash. He still fought them down the stairs, until at length he fell upon the pavement in the passage. Meantime Mr. Perry ran to my father's office, followed by the assailants, as I have related. As to Mr. Perry's friend, he did not seem to have taken any part in the affair, but quietly strolled up to my father's house after the other parties, seemingly actuated more by curiosity than by any other feeling. Mr. Perry was dreadfully frightened, and repeatedly offered to marry the lady; M—— was not to be appeased: he would have nothing but his life; and even swore he would have my father's life for protecting him; he would not listen to any reparation. He was with difficulty restrained by my father and his servants from attacking Mr. Perry in the office. My father was at last obliged to lock Mr. Perry up in his strong room; and finding nothing better was to be done, he hoisted his signal for the packet, the Duke of Kent, Captain Catesworth, to send a boat on shore; and he sent his Spanish servant Antonio to the Quai de Soudré, to await its arrival, and to bring the boat's crew to the office. Thus, in about an hour he had four stout fellows at his command. He placed Mr. Perry under their care; they conducted him safely to the boat, and he was in a few minutes on board the packet, where his servant was also conveyed as soon as

his wound was dressed—no vital part was hurt. My father's house was so situated that he had the full command of the river from the Custom-house to the bar below Belem tower, and the packets lay as it were, under his window, from whence he could, and constantly did, signal them for all that might be necessary. Mr. Perry remained on board until the 2nd of June, on which day he sailed with the packet for England, having first written an account of the matter to his military superiors, in order to account for his absenting himself thus without leave. A few months afterwards my father received the following letter:—

“Southill Park, Nov. 6th, 1811.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“You must excuse the tardiness of my most sincere thanks for your very great attention to me previous to my leaving Lisbon. Many have been my resolutions of writing, and as many times they have died away, I am ashamed to acknowledge. My father desires me to mention his very great obligations for your kindness to me; and hopes, if ever he can be of any use to you, you will not delay in letting him know, and as far as his interest can be of any use, he begs you will consider it very much at your service. I am about to join the Royal Corsican Rangers, which regiment is now in Sicily, and which I shall leave as soon as a Lieutenancy can be procured in a British regiment on that station. I have got the step from Second Lieutenant in the 95th,

to a First Lieutenancy in the regiment already mentioned. I beg once more to repeat my most sincere and hearty thanks, and remain,

“ My dear Sir,

“ Your most obliged

And very obedient humble servant,

“ W^M. CECIL PERRY.

“ To Thomas Reynolds, Esq.

“ Lisbon.”

The above was enclosed in a letter to Mr. Freeling from Lord Limerick, as follows :

“ Southill Park, Nov. 10th, 1811.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ You will very particularly oblige me by forwarding the enclosed to Mr. Reynolds, to whom neither my son nor I can ever forget our obligations. I expect Lord Sandwich here to-day. I wish you would join our party ; we shall all be delighted to see you, particularly

“ Your obliged

“ And faithful servant,

“ LIMERICK.

“ To F. Freeling, Esq.”

On the back of the above Mr. Freeling wrote :

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ You will like to see this unaffected testimony of Lord Limerick’s feelings towards you.

“ Yours, &c., F. F.”

The Earl of Limerick was one of the very few persons who did not forget his obligations. Six years afterwards, when Sir Francis Burdett attacked my father in the House of Commons, and an attempt was made by one of his partisans to continue the attack in the House of Lords, Lord Limerick at once arose in his defence; and for so doing, was much abused by the radical press of that day.

Mr. Perry was sent on service in the Mediterranean, and afterwards joined his regiment in the north of Spain, and was killed in action. I think he fell at Saragossa. Miss M. was placed in a convent, but did not take the veil. My father was for some time in danger from the resentment of her family; but by the assistance of his good friend, Richard Sealy, a merchant of Lisbon, he had the matter satisfactorily explained to the family, and they afterwards became good friends. A nephew of Mr. M. was engaged, very profitably, in the British Commissariat in Lisbon, which had no little effect in softening the resentment of the lady's kindred towards a man at the head of a British establishment.

Two years afterwards Lord Limerick had occasion to write to my father on business, when his Lordship thus again alludes to the matter:

“Southill Park, September 15th, 1813.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I have this day received your letter of the 27th of August, and shall write by this post to my bankers,

Messrs. Biddulph, Cocks, and Ridge, of Charing Cross, London, to pay to your order Be assured I shall never forget my obligations for your kindness to my dear departed boy,

“ And am,

“ My dear Sir,

“ Very sincerely yours,

“ LIMERICK

“ To Thomas Reynolds, Esq.

“ Lisbon.”

The following letter, describing Massena's retreat from Torres Vedras, may not be uninteresting; it is addressed to my brother:—

“ Lisbon, 29th March, 1811.

“ MY DEAR ANDREW,

“ I wrote a short time since to Tom; since that time we have had a busy scene of it here. The enemy broke up their long-established quarters on the 4th instant, and, forced by want of provisions, and by sickness, they commenced their retreat. They went off in two columns, first towards Thomar; there the heavy column took the road through Pombal, the other went by Pineche, and both joined near Ponte da Murcilla, on the Mondego; thence they marched through the valley of Mondego, through Guarda and Celerico towards Almeida. A body of 30,000 men, the flower of Massena's army, composed the rear-guard; the baggage, artillery, sick, &c., went on before. Lord Wellington, with a fine body of our men, stuck close on his heels,

and used every endeavour to bring him to a general action, but in vain. Massena halted at times with his rear-guard, while his advance went forward; when we came up to him he drew out for battle, we did the same; all this took up time; when we were ready to engage, off he shot like an arrow with his light troops, came up with his advance, halted again, again flew off; and thus he conducted his retreat in a most masterly style. He, however, lost a great many thousands of men and cattle, with which all the roads are still covered; he also lost his artillery, and a great part of his baggage. His loss in fighting men does not (I think) exceed one thousand men; but he lost three or four thousand who, from fatigue or illness, could not keep up, and dropped on the road. I went as far as Coimbra, and I am persuaded I saw more than 1500 dead men, lying naked on the roads, with horses, mules, asses, and bullocks; the road is literally covered with them. It exceeds all you can conceive to think what cruelty the French behaved with. They began by burning the cathedral of Santarem, which was their hospital, and in it burned some hundreds of their own sick men. The streets and houses of that town were in a deplorable condition when we entered, covered with dead and dying; in one room were seventeen corpses. Leiria, Redinha, Condexa, and Pombal, all considerable towns, they burned to the ground. Guarda and Celerico have met the same fate. Every village and house in their route was destroyed. They flayed men alive, roasted others, ripped up women's

bellies, and spitted children, to make discoveries of hidden treasure. The Royal Dragoons took a party in a church rooting up the dead bodies, expecting plunder with them. Since the days of Attila no such savage brutality has ever been heard of. I have seen and spoken with a man and his son who were roasting when our people relieved them. They are sadly burned, but not in danger, I hope, of death; a quarter of an hour more and it was up with them. Providentially the weather has been cold, or we should have had a pestilence from the corpses lying unburied. We lost some men in the skirmishes which occurred in the pursuit, and about twenty-nine officers killed and wounded. I don't think proper to mention the names, until they are made public by authority, lest I should make some mistake. The Spaniards, as usual, have behaved in the most cowardly and treacherous manner; they have delivered up full 20,000 men, without a blow, on the frontiers, within the last month. We also have a strong army of about 20,000 men on the Alenteijo side of the Tagus, under Marshal Beresford, who also drives the enemy before him in that quarter. Thus Portugal may, I think, be considered perfectly safe.

“ God bless you, my dear boy, and the same hearty blessing to Tom, and believe me, my dear Andrew, your affectionate father,

“ THOMAS REYNOLDS.”

As a proof that my father's zeal for the service did

not slacken, I here insert two letters received in the summer of the year 1811, from Mr. Freeling.

“ General Post Office, May 29, 1811.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ Your interesting and important letter of the battle near Badajos enabled us to put the Government into possession of many particulars which it had not obtained officially. The feeling manner in which that letter was written does great honour to the heart of the writer, and *all* his letters have been marked by strong and acute reflection and important information. How greatly has the character and interest of this country been upheld by Lord Wellington, and his brave associates in arms ! I write in great haste, but am not the less yours, &c.

“ F. FREELING.

“ To Thomas Reynolds, Esq.,
Lisbon.”

“ General Post Office, June 7, 1811.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ We have not read your last letters, giving an account of this great battle without strong emotion, and a thorough participation in all those generous and fine feelings which you have so well expressed.

“ I believe there is not an individual in this country who does not think that the battle of Albuhera may rank with any of modern or ancient times. The disparity was great, not perhaps numerically, but in the

art and practice of war. Dearly as it has been bought, and one must feel that it was so, we look upon it as an event of the greatest *possible* consequence in the final result of the campaign. It is delightful that it should have been fought by Beresford; it must inspire the French army with an awful respect for the Generals whom they have to encounter.

“ Your anecdotes of the poor ensigns are truly affecting; the whole of your correspondence has been invaluable to us, *and frequently of considerable importance to the Government*. I thank you most heartily for all, &c. &c. &c.

“ F. FREELING.

“ To Thomas Reynolds, Esq.,
Lisbon.”

The consideration which my father soon acquired in Lisbon, engaged numbers of persons to seek introductions and recommendations to him, and enabled him to be of very great service to many of them. Mr. Freeling was early sensible of that fact, and did not fail to recommend his dearest friends to him. From the multitude of letters now in my possession, I shall select a few which will best show how he attended to them.

Captain Dynelly was one of the first introduced by Mr. Freeling; my father paid him marked attentions in Lisbon. Soon after he joined his regiment he was wounded and made prisoner: my father hearing of his capture, without waiting for any application from him, contrived, by means of some French merchants in Lis-

bon, to place funds at his disposal in the French quarters; and had letters written to have every care taken of his personal comfort. He shortly afterwards effected his escape at a moment when our troops pressed so hard on the enemy, that they could not pay sufficient attention to their prisoners. Respecting this gentleman Mr. Freeling writes thus:—

“ General Post Office, 18th September, 1811.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I cannot sufficiently express the strong sense of obligation which I feel for the very kind manner in which you were so good as to receive my affectionate friend Captain Dynelly; your obliging attentions to him will be of infinite importance to a most worthy creature.

“ Believe me yours, &c.,

“ F. FREELING.

“ To Thomas Reynolds, Esq.,

“ Lisbon.”

He writes again on the same subject, two months later.

“ 13th November, 1811.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ The incessant occupation of London has left me but too little leisure to express my sense of your great kindness to me on all occasions.

“ It is impossible anything I can say on the subject of your friendly attentions to Captain Dynelly, can convey an adequate sense of what we all feel for such

attentions, and at such a moment; I am going on a short visit to his mother in Dorsetshire, and shall witness her gratitude to you for it.

“All your letters have been highly acceptable to us; they are creditable to you, first, for the clear mind with which you have reviewed all that has been going forward, and next, for the accuracy of your facts. I do assure you that Lords Chichester and Sandwich are equally obliged and indebted to you as I am. I should have reprobated myself if I had not taken a very early opportunity, in this short leisure, to express my thanks for your unwearied attentions to me and to my friends.

“Believe me ever, &c. &c.,

“F. FREELING.

“To Thomas Reynolds, Esq.,

“Lisbon.”

It was after the above letters had been written that Captain Dynelly had been made prisoner; and during the time he was in the hands of the French, Mr. Freeling's son writes as follows:—

“General Post Office, 7th September, 1812.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“Pray accept my warmest thanks for your kind attentions to our unfortunate friend Dynelly. If the blessings and good wishes of a most excellent mother, and half a dozen beautiful and interesting sisters, can have any avail, you ought to be the happiest man in

existence : the whole family are truly sensible of your great kindness, as well as,

“ My dear Sir, yours, &c. &c.,

“ G. HENRY FREELING.”

Another letter of Mr. H. Freeling was as follows :—

“ General Post Office, 2d November, 1812.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ Both you and I have too much real business on our hands to be fond of troubling the other with superfluous letters ; I cannot, however, resist sending you an extract from a letter from the best creature in the world, and the best friend I have in it,—I mean the mother of our friend Dynelly. She says, ‘ I wish, Henry, you would write to Mr. Reynolds, and say for me all that a grateful heart can dictate, for his abundant kind attentions to Tom, and apologise for all the trouble we give him.’

“ I will not take up more of your time than to beg that in addition to the thanks of Mrs. Dynelly, you will accept the sincere ones of

“ Yours, faithfully,

“ G. H. FREELING.”

After my father's return from Lisbon, he never heard more of Captain Dynelly, nor of any of his family !

Another person recommended by Mr. Freeling was Mr. Storey, a connexion of his own : he was the bearer of the following letter :—

“General Post Office. 18th October, 1812.

“MY DEAR REYNOLDS,

“When I tell you that the gentleman for whom the inclosed is intended is brother to Mr. Storey, who married Mrs. Freeling’s sister, you may naturally suppose I feel a strong interest in what concerns him. Your unparalleled kindness to my friend Dynelly induces me to recommend this young man to the same friendly attentions ; they will be invaluable to him : the poor fellow knows little of the world, and is for the first time going on service. I shall not intrude a long letter upon you on this occasion, for you have in every instance anticipated my wishes, and outstripped my expectations. We begin to truckle again about Russia, though God knows what the result may be. Pray write me a few lines such as I may send to Storey’s friends in Ireland.

“Believe me ever,

“My dear Sir,

“With sincere regard,

“F. FREELING.”

I need not say that my father was not less attentive to young Mr. Storey than was expected.

In April, 1812, the celebrated siege of Badajoz took place. My father wrote a very ample and detailed account of that memorable contest. The following letter may not be uninteresting as affording a kind of diary of the last week’s operations.

“ Li-bon, 1st April, 1812.

“ MY DEAR ANDREW,

“ I fear you will think I have too long delayed writing to you, but in fact the multiplicity of business alone prevented me. You already know of our attack on Badajoz, and of our having advanced our first parallel within 300 yards of the walls,—of the sortie, made the 19th by the enemy, in which we lost 150, and they lost 200 men ; and finally of our taking Fort Pickerinha by assault. Fort Pickerinha is a strong redoubt made by the French, 250 yards from the walls of Badajoz, and was completely commanded by the walls of the town, but it served very much to annoy us in our approaches. It was defended by five guns and one howitzer, and by 300 men picked out of a greater number of volunteers, commanded by one Colonel Gaspard, all brave determined fellows as any to be found ; and in order to make them fight more desperately, Governor Phillipon cut open the dyke of the Guadiana, and filled the broad ditch of Badajoz with water, thereby cutting off all chance of retreat to the town ; and pointed eight guns from the walls at the fort to fire on it if he saw anything like cowardice. The difficulties our brave men had to pass over in getting at the place were inconceivable. First, they had to mount the slope of the glacis fully open to the fire of the place ; then they had to break away a set of stakes, each one a foot diameter, four feet in the ground, and fastened together by cross pieces spiked to

each stake, which were six inches asunder. They had then to descend eight feet perpendicular, and the space they were to descend on was all holes six feet deep with spikes in the bottom, and the space between each hole brought to an edge impossible to stand on: then they had to descend another eight feet into the ditch, and to overcome another range of stakes: lastly, they had to mount nineteen feet, where they met a third range of projecting stakes, and then they had the enemy to encounter. Our men were provided with ladders; each ladder was of sufficient breadth for two soldiers to mount abreast, and sufficiently light for two men to carry: 460 men under General Kemp set off. Twice they were repulsed, and had already lost 200 men. A third time, the 260 men remaining, pushed forward, overcame all difficulties, and entered the place: not a single Frenchman was yet killed, they became panic-struck, and begged for quarter; but no, they received none; the bayonet was set at work, every man who was found was put to death; 180 were thus killed. General Kemp with great difficulty saved the Commander and two officers. The rest of the garrison ran out of the fort towards the town: some were drowned in the ditch, some were shot by our people, and the rest taken prisoners, not a man escaped. As soon as our men got into the fort, the Governor of Badajoz poured in a continual fire on it from the walls, until, after immense difficulties, a screen of earth, wood, and gabions was thrown up so as to defend our brave men. The third parallel was then advanced, so as to be between this

fort and Badajoz, at only 240 yards from the walls of the latter. Our loss to this time is about 800, and the daily casualties in the trenches are about 70 men, independent of the several assaults, sorties, &c. The accounts I have now given you are up to the 28th of March—this is the 1st of April—before I send off this letter you shall know more I hope.

“April 2.—Our accounts of this day state all things at the siege to be going on well. The breaching batteries, three in number, mounting 27 guns, were ready to open. Lord Wellington sent to summon the place. Phillipon returned an answer, importing that he would hold out and give his Lordship a lesson at defending a fortified town.

“April 3.—This day my accounts are to the 1st of April from Badajoz. Our breaching batteries were open, and the wall fell pretty well, but it is very tough, and does not fall as that of Rodrigo did; it falls stone by stone, and not in masses. Lord Wellington is on the ground every day; he is encamped at a little distance. On the evening of the 31st, one of our magazines blew up by means of a bomb-shell thrown by the enemy; six men were killed. On the morning of the 31st, a battery of eight 24 pounders opened on the flank which commands our intended breach, which breach is now making with 20 guns, and a third battery of 10 guns is ready to open to breach the opposite curtain: also, a new No. 4 (that is, of 4 guns) battery has been made in front of our parallel to enfilade one of the enemy's covered ways leading to the breach-

ing point. On the whole, the opinion seems to be that our attack will be practicable the 4th or 5th of April. A sortie was made from Fort Cristoval on the 29th instant, on our 30th regiment, and on a regiment of Portuguese. The enemy was repulsed with loss of their commander killed, and many men. We did not lose a single man. I assure you the Portuguese are excellent troops.

“ April 4.—My letters of this day are of the 1st of April, late at night, from Badajoz. Our guns kept up a continual fire, at times like the most violent thunder. On the evening of the 31st, the escarp, or wall, looked well, being a good deal damaged, and cut in at the bottom, and on the morning of the 1st a pretty good breach was formed. The ditch which surrounded the town was broad, and had six feet of water in it, which our sappers were mining to let off. Soult with a strong force was driving forward, and was expected at Albuera, near Badajoz, on the 4th. The 4th was likewise the day our men expected to storm. In consequence of the conduct of the troops on entering Rodrigo, Lord Wellington has issued a general order, which states that every person found plundering before all the French are taken or killed, shall be put to death.

“ An under-ground mine has been made from the end of our trenches to the bottom of the ditch; by opening the end of this mine all the water in the ditch will run off through our trenches. This is easy, as the ditch is by a good deal higher than the trenches, and was filled by a forcing engine from the river.

“ The Portuguese militia are made very useful to us in carrying gabions, ammunition, and such things. I must observe to you, that our attack is entirely on the S.E., and of course on the town itself, which stands altogether on the Spanish side of the Guadiana, over which river there is a capital bridge leading directly to Badajoz ; and on this side of the river this bridge runs into a very strong fortress called Fort Cristoval, which *alone* is on this side of the river ; and on the east side of the town, within the walls, and forming a part of the walls, is a strong citadel, called the Old Castle ; the rest of the place is only the town, surrounded by strong, regular works, very much mined by the French, who have also broken up the streets and barricaded them, so as to hold out the work of death as long as possible. If we lose so few as 1000 men in the actual storming, it will be very happy. I hourly expect the news of the attack.

“ April 5.—This day I have had two couriers, one of the evening of the 2nd, the other of the 3rd. Our casualties, that is, our killed and wounded, then amounted to 1300. I do not think prudent to give the names, lest I should make some error, and thereby cause unhappiness to some one. I now send you a plan of the place as it was on the 2nd of April. The walls are of excellent masonry, and from all I learn, the breaches will not be quite fit so soon as was expected. They are lined with capital brick-work ; but 36 guns of 24 pounds are now rattling at them like continual roaring thunder, and these must bring them down if they were adamant.

“ Lord Wellington is on the ground amidst all the firing, twice a day, and seems to be very anxious to bring matters to an end. You will see in the plan a bridge, at that bridge they dammed up the water, and in order to destroy the work, about ten fifteen-inch cubic boxes were made and filled with powder, and laid under the dam to blow it up on the 2nd ; but only two of the boxes exploded—the purpose failed. A friend of mine stood near Lord Wellington at the moment ; his only remark was, “ that is an unlucky thing, Fletcher,” speaking to Colonel Fletcher of the artillery. The ladders, about thirty feet long, are all prepared, and one breach is quite open, the two others go on well. Our artillery fire about 7000 balls every TWELVE hours. Governor Phillipon has made every preparation to defend himself to the last in the town, then to retire into the castle and into Fort Cristoval, in both of which places he has mounted mortars to shell us. It wil^l be a dreadful affair, no quarter will be given ; it will be a sad night of butchery. The enemy had a vidette in front of Pardacleras ; this they have now called in. All seems ready ; but in my last account of the 3rd, my correspondent says he thinks the place cannot be stormed for about thirty hours more. Our fire continues dreadful, that of the enemy seems abating a good deal.

“ Perhaps while I write, the work of death is doing, though I rather think this night will be the fatal one. God preserve our friends, and that greatest of all heroes, Lord Wellington : he is continually in the midst of this

dreadful chaos, and cool and resolute, inspecting and regulating all things with as much ease as if he was at home directing the operations of a corn field. One of our howitzers close by him, received a ball from the town right into its bore; the ball split; one half remained in the gun, the other flew off close to our hero. Instead of noticing his own great danger, he merely made a remark on the singularity of a shot entering our gun so truly. Our bridge of pontoons, which was to below the town over the Guadiana, has been removed, and is now above the town. The whole extent of our works from the first opening of the ground, exceeds 24,000 feet.

“April 6th.—As yet I have no letters to-day: is it a sign the dreadful work was going on? Are the hands which wrote to me yesterday no more? or are they employed in exterminating their fellow-creatures? Good heavens! what a scene of butchery—savage man alone is capable of thus massacring his species.

“I am just going to close this letter to send the mail on board the Phantom vessel of war, and to be ready for despatches, if they come, as I now expect them every hour. If I can, you shall yet have the result. Farewell, my dear child; God bless and preserve you. I had something to say about your attention to your studies, and obedience and affectionate care of your dear mother, but my mind is really very much agitated; the details of these scenes fall so directly under my knowledge, they harrow up every feeling of my nature.”

“ 5 o'clock Monday evening, the 6th.

“ This moment a courier has arrived with about a dozen letters, not more. One is from my friend colonel Möller, dated Saturday evening. I enclose it to you : well, then, all is over now. Once more God bless you.”

“ Saturday Evening.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ The two breaches are both practicable, and the assault is expected either to-night or at day-light to-morrow morning 7 o'clock. I am just going to mount horse, and, with General Power, to be an eye-witness of this dreadful scene, and to-morrow you shall be informed of all. Adieu in haste.

“ Yours,

H. F. MÖLLER.”

“ April 7th.—Camp before Badajoz, 4th April, at sun-rise, my friend writes me to say—‘ I have just returned from the batteries, and I have very particularly examined the breaches. The main breach is very nearly practicable ; the whole of the walls of the face are down, and part of the interior also : it is through in two places. The soil is a kind of dark red clay, and appears as if it had been mixed the same as for brick-making, being uncommonly hard. Although our guns have kept up an incessant fire, the French have intrenched the main breach, and I expect it is also inundated, but I am not certain. As to the small breach, only part of the wall is down through to the earth. I

think by this night the main breach will be practicable, and in all probability to-morrow night the storm will take place. Nearly 50 ladders are now ready, and some hundreds of bread bags, filled with wild thyme and heath are also ready. I do not like the immense sheet of water that there is before the breaches. We are now throwing shells and grape, but they are under cover. I think to-morrow most likely to be the time for our storming. I understand the 3rd, and light division will storm.'

" At five o'clock in the evening of the 4th another letter says:—' This whole day, a tremendous fire has been kept up ; spherical case shot has been much used. Some people say the breach is now practicable, others say not : I join the latter, but in a few hours it will be so, and just as good as it can be made. The French have been very busy to-day in throwing up a defence inside. Four ladders covered with thin boards 32 feet long are made ready, for the purpose of putting across the water. Lord Wellington and Marshal Beresford &c. &c. are here all day, very anxious and busy. Our average fire is now 6000 a day.

" ' 6 o'clock.

" ' The whole wall is down at both breaches ; I think 2 o'clock to-morrow morning will be the hour.' "

" Lisbon, midnight, 7th April.

" This moment I have been roused from my bed by a courier from Badajoz. I cannot lie down, I there-

fore will give you the news : it begins on Sunday morning and continues until 6 o'clock on Sunday night. Date Sunday, 5th April, 1812.

“ ‘ This night, or about morning, our brave troops are once more to step forward to display British valour. I understand it is to take place about one hour before moon-rise : a real attack is to be made on the castle, to escalate the walls by part of the 3rd division, headed by Major Burgoyne. Captain Ellscomb leads the 1st and light divisions to the main breach, and Captain Nicholas to the small one. Upwards of 80 ladders of different lengths are ready ; the park* is only about 20 yards in the rear of the first parallel. Another officer will lead a party with the bags filled with heath, &c. All the hospital waggons are now in waiting, for many a fine fellow will be laid low. Our loss will be great.

“ ‘ 12 o'clock, noon (same day).

“ ‘ A deserter is just come in ;—if such people can be believed, he says Philippon is badly wounded in the arm. I keep this open until the last hour. The breaches are excellent ;—we attack late to-night. I just return from the batteries. Six howitzers are to play on the castle a little before the attack. On the Christoval side the 5th division or militia are to make a false attack, to attract the enemy's notice. I have folded and directed a sheet of paper to give you a line

* By the *park* he means all ladders, stores, &c., for the storm.

when I get in, if I do not fall ; if I do, my friend, remember me.'

"The same letter in continuation, written in pencil :

" '6 o'clock, Sunday evening, in the battery.

" ' I do not know whether I have not made a mistake in naming the bastions. No. 2 of the plan is the bastion of Trinidad. It is the main breach, or the breach of the face ; and No. 1 is the small or flank breach, and is called the bastion of Santa Maria. They are now before me, not 100 yards off, and are both excellent. Lord Wellington and party are looking out from a hill just opposite to the main breach, about 800 yards distant. We wait impatient for the time. God send it may be a glorious night for our brave fellows.' "

"Such, my dear Andrew, is verbatim, the letter of as brave a youth as ever honoured an uniform, at the moment within 100 yards of advancing to the most desperate conflict ever witnessed in cool, determined blood. How collectedly he writes : he takes out his pencil to correct an error in a former letter ;—he takes a sheet of paper in his pocket to write to his friend from the midst of the carnage. God preserve the noble fellow to write many hundreds.

"2 o'clock at night.

"Huzza !—Badajoz is ours. It fell last night ; Lord Clinton (my intimate friend) is coming down with the despatches,—this is announced to us by telegraph—no more particulars.

"Here I close my present account to you, because

you will see all the rest in the London papers in a correct form ; my news must be vague and incorrect for the first day or two : perhaps I may have some interesting particulars by next mail.

“ God bless you, my dear child,

“ Believe me your truly

“ Affectionate father,

“ THOMAS REYNOLDS.”

“ Lisbon, April 11th, 1812.

“ MY DEAR ANDREW,

“ The despatches are not yet come down, and the ship is detained. I therefore have the sad task of giving you the following slight sketch of the taking of Badajoz. About 9 at night on the 6th all the divisions were at their posts : the 5th division with two Portuguese regiments from Elvas, under my friend Möller, were to attack Fort Christoval, and the bridge head defence at the north side of the river. These were feint attacks. The 3rd division, under General Picton was to attack the castle by escalade. The light division, under General Colville, was to attack the small breach in the bastion No. 1. The 4th division, under General Kemp, to attack the great breach in bastion No. 2. A considerable number of Portuguese were attached to each of these corps. Everything was prepared ; each man understood his march—the rockets were fired—how can I describe the scene which followed ? Those on the north side did their part well. General Picton and the 3rd division made their desperate attack on the castle,

over a wide and deep ditch, against the face of a solid rock, 30 feet high. After desperate difficulties our noble fellows placed 16 ladders to the wall, while the enemy threw heaps of shells and immense stones on them. Nothing could exceed the obstinacy on both sides; it was a continual blaze of fire. But our gallant lads overcame every obstacle, gained the place, tore down the tri-coloured flag, and placed a jacket of the 45th in its stead. Meanwhile the breaches were defended with a bravery unheard of, and which could only be exceeded by the valour of the attackers. Twice our troops made resolute assaults, twice they were repulsed. A third most dreadful attack was made, the resistance was unabated;—while our men had to pass the inundation, and to mount the steep breach, they were opposed by grape-shot, musketry, bayonets, grenades, and every invention of destructive war. When after incredible difficulties they surmounted these obstacles, and landed on the bastions, they were met by chevaux de frizes, and another ditch, defended by caronades with grape-shot in front, while the bastions under them were blown into the air by mines; still they fought. But the severity of the contest had like to have induced our gallant hero to call them off, when at this critical moment the success of the 3rd division was announced, by its falling on the enemy in the town;—our heroes at the breaches redoubled their efforts, all fell before them. The enemy still retired, fighting to his last hold, where the survivors surrendered at discretion. This gigantic contest continued from 10 at

night till 5 in the morning. To describe any part of the horrors in the town is utterly impossible: the remainder of that night and the next day was one continued scene of carnage, plunder, and drunkenness. Every house and store sacked, every man destroyed, every woman most brutally violated. The heart bleeds and sickens at the thought. Good God! is there no vengeance to fall on the head of that monster whose diabolical ambition causes all these shocking scenes? Our loss is immense—thousands!! The ditch, the breach, the streets, all were covered with the dead: 6 generals, 300 officers of lesser rank, and 2000 privates, is a rough guess at the numbers of our killed and wounded. Of the enemy about 3000 men, 200 officers, and the governor remain prisoners: the number of their killed I do not know. Such, dear Andrew, is the result of that night, for ever memorable to the British army. God bless you, my dear child.

“Your affectionate father,

“THOMAS REYNOLDS.”

About the end of the year 1812 there appeared in a Dublin newspaper a most atrocious libel on my father's appointment. My father immediately wrote to his friend and solicitor in Ireland, Mr. Furlong, upon the subject, to procure the necessary documents to prosecute the publisher; and at the same time he wrote to the General Post-Office to ascertain whether he should have their support in such a proceeding. Mr. Furlong was an old friend of my father and grandfather; his

son, Mr. John Smith Furlong, was a barrister. Mr. Furlong in his reply says,—“ Though it is as gross and scandalous a libel as ever was written, John and I unite in opinion that it is better not to take any notice of it. Were you to apply for an information, or to bring an action, it would only excite a host of enemies, and the press would teem with similar publications, the authors of which would delight in finding that you felt sore, and would run every risk to gratify their implacable hatred.” My father, finding that the heads of the Post-Office were of the same opinion, although they were even more libelled than he was, followed Mr. Furlong’s advice, and left the matter totally unnoticed.

In the beginning of the year 1813 an event occurred to my father which I am compelled to detail somewhat at length, as it was made a pretext by Sir Francis Burdett, in 1817, for calumniating him in the grossest manner, under shelter of his privilege as a Member of Parliament.

The captain of every vessel employed in the packet-service paid a tax out of the passage-money on each passenger conveyed in his ship, which tax was received for the Post-Office by the agent at Falmouth. The passengers paid it, as part of their passage-money, to the captains, therefore they did not know its amount, nor were they at all aware of the existence of such a tax. The Post-Office authorities thought proper to appropriate a portion of this tax towards the payment of the agent at Lisbon, and the mode they adopted was

to deduct a sum of half a moidore from the amount of the passage-money payable to the captain, and to make it a separate charge, to be paid by the passenger to the agent on receiving a permit, addressed to the captain, to receive them on board. This permit, very improperly, received the name of passport, but it was no such thing; it was merely an authority, addressed to the packet-officer, to receive the person named in it on board his vessel. In my humble opinion it would have been the better way to have granted the permit gratis, and to have made the captain add the amount to his passage-money, as he did the remainder of the tax, and account for it to the Lisbon agent. Being paid in the manner it was, it gave rise to much discontent among passengers, and to great misrepresentations, being sometimes construed into an illegal imposition, not on the part of the Post-Office, but on the part of the Lisbon agent. My father was frequently asked why the charge was made; and not feeling himself under any necessity of explaining the business of his department to all the world, he replied on such occasions, that the charge was made by order of the Postmaster General, to whom application might be made for further explanation, and his acknowledgment for the money forwarded, as an undeniable proof of the charge. All the permits my father used were sent to him from the General Post-Office in London, where they were printed by the printer of the department.

To show that this system of permits was fully known and recognised, and called when necessary in aid of

public justice, by the highest military authorities in the British service, I shall give a copy of a letter now before me.

General Peacock was the military governor of Lisbon. The Town-Major's office was the court and seat of his authority.

“ Town-Major's Office, Lisbon, 20th March, 1813.

“ SIR,

“ I am directed by Major-General Peacock to transmit you the enclosed papers for your perusal, and to request you will be pleased not to grant a passage on board of any of His Majesty's packets leaving this port to Mr. Deputy Purveyor C——.

“ I have the honour to request you will return the papers after perusal.

“ I have the honour to be, Sir,

“ Your very obedient humble servant,

“ J. DE BACKER,

“ Lieut. of Town Staff.

“ To Thomas Reynolds, Esq., &c. &c.”

While my father sat writing in his office on the 20th of January, 1813, General Brooke, and Messrs. Cus-
tance and Mathewman, two English merchants, being
there also, reading his English newspapers, a person in
the uniform of the Guards, whom he had never seen be-
fore, and who turned out to be Lieutenant-Colonel
Jones, captain in the 1st Foot Guards, a relative of Gale
Jones, came into the room, followed by Mr. John Mac-
donnell, and some other person not known to my father.
Jones advanced with an impudent and supercilious air,

and, in a threatening tone of voice, said, " Mr. Reynolds, I demand to know on what authority you take my money out of my pocket, under pretence of a passport, which I tell you is a gross imposition, and not in general orders?" Before my father could recollect himself to reply to this address, he repeated it in a still more aggravating manner, saying, " That he exacted unjust, illegal, and unauthorized fees; and that he must, and should instantly produce his authority." My father then replied to him, " That had he asked like a gentleman, he should have had every explanation; that his coat bespoke the gentleman, but that his conduct belied it, and that he was a disgrace to his cloth."

" Then," said he, " you refuse me your authority, do you?" My father replied, " You have acted with atrocious insolence, in every way unlike a gentleman, and I refuse all communication with you."

He then said, " I demand and insist upon your authority for this imposition, and if you do not instantly comply, I'll go to the ambassador and have you punished." To this my father answered, " Go where you please, you will only expose yourself the more: neither your general orders, nor your general himself, nor the ambassador can, or should interfere in the regulations of my department, which is as independent, as respectable, and as respected as either of theirs. There is the door, leave my house, and disturb me no longer with your impertinence."

He again said, stamping his foot, " That he would not pay such an imposing demand."

“As you please,” said my father, “but unless you pay my demand you do not go in any one of his Majesty’s packets.” “We’ll see that,” said he, “it’s a d—ble imposition.”

“Then,” replied my father, you are an impertinent fellow, leave my house, or I’ll call my servant to turn you out.” Jones then departed muttering something which my father did not understand.

The Mr. Macdonnell, who accompanied Mr. Jones, was son of Mr. Randall Macdonnell of Dublin, formerly clerk to Mr. Edward Byrne, sugar-baker of Mullinahack, but subsequently taken into partnership in the firm of Edward Byrne, Randall Macdonnell and Co. of Dublin. He was, at the time I speak of, a merchant in Lisbon. Mr. Venicomb, who commanded the Lapwing packet, which only came to Lisbon that time by accident, not being attached to the station, had married Jones’s sister. Desirous of having his brother-in-law in his vessel, and not daring to receive him without my father’s permit, he called at the office in the course of the day and took out the permit, and paid for it in Jones’s name; and, on the following day, 21st January, 1813, he sailed with sixteen passengers, besides Mr. Jones.

On the 20th, my father received the following note :—

“Sir Charles Stuart requests to see Mr. Reynolds at eleven o’clock to-morrow morning, or at any other hour which may be more convenient to him.

“Lisbon, 20th January, 1813.”

He consequently waited upon his Excellency, who told him that Colonel Jones had made some complaint of treatment he met with at his hands ; that he (Sir Charles) should not attempt to interfere as to any personal difference, nor with the regulations of my father's office, but he requested my father to send him, in writing, an explanation of the charge of half a moidore for a passport. My father fully explained Jones's conduct, and he also showed to Sir Charles one of the printed papers which were anything but passports, being to the following purport :—

“ Lisbon.

“ SIR, “

“ You may receive on board his Majesty's packet, the _____, under your command, A. B.

“ THOMAS REYNOLDS,

“ To Captain _____,

“ Agent.

“ Commander of H. M. packet the _____.”

being simply a permit addressed to the commander allowing him to receive the individual on board the vessel under his command.

Next day my father wrote his Excellency as follows :—

“ Lisbon, 22nd January, 1813.

“ SIR,

“ In compliance with your Excellency's desire that I should explain the nature of a demand made in my office, of half a moidore from every passenger going in the packets from hence to Falmouth, I have the ho-

nour to acquaint your Excellency, that it is expressly ordered by their Lordships the Postmaster General, that no persons shall be received on board his Majesty's packets, on the Lisbon station, without being previously furnished with a permit to the officer commanding such packet, allowing him to receive them ; that such permit can only be granted by the regular packet agent on the Lisbon station, and that the sum of half a moidore, in metal, shall be paid to the agent for each individual for whom he shall grant such permit.

" This regulation existed previously to my appointment, and for any further explanation upon it I must beg to refer your Excellency to the documents I had the honour of laying before you yesterday, and which I shall not fail to communicate by the first mail to my Lords the Postmaster General.

" I have the honour to remain,

" To his Excellency

" &c. &c. &c.

" Sir Charles Stuart,

" THOMAS REYNOLDS.

&c. &c. &c."

My father heard no more of this matter until the 13th of March, on which day the Kent packet brought him a large despatch from the General Post-Office, accompanied by the following letter from Mr. Freeling :

" General Post-Office, March 4th, 1813.

" DEAR REYNOLDS,

" Although your answer to the enclosed *must be official*, I prefer sending it to you under my own hand ;

and I send you the originals, that you may see *all* that has been said upon it.

“Yours, always and truly,

“F. FREELING.”

The first of the originals alluded to was as follows :—

“Dalswinton, Dumfries, February 20th, 1813.

“SIR,

“I have to request that you will have the goodness to lay the enclosed before my Lords the Postmaster General; and

“I have the honour to be, Sir,

“Your most obedient, humble servant,

“LESLIE G. JONES,

“Captain 1st Guards, and Lieut.-Colonel.

“To Francis Freeling, Esq.”

On the back of this was written, by Mr. Freeling,—

“For the Postmaster General.

“I am sorry to see anything in the shape of a complaint against our worthy agent at Lisbon; and I have very little doubt that the explanation for which he must be called upon will be satisfactory.

“F. FREELING.

“27th February, 1813.”

On the back of the same was written, by Lord Sandwich,—

“I should not have thought Mr. Reynolds a person likely to act improperly. I do not observe the letter said to be written by that gentleman to Lieutenant-Colonel Jones.—S.”

Lower down on the same letter was written, in red ink,—

“Colonel Jones did not send it to Mr. Freeling.

“ J. C.”

“The enclosed,” for the Postmaster General, was thus :—

“ Dalswinton, Dumfries, February 20th, 1813.

“ MY LORDS,

“I have to regret being compelled to make a complaint to your Lordships against one of your servants, but I feel that I should be wanting in duty towards my brother officers, and to the public, were I not to seek, through your medium, the correction of the agent of packets at Lisbon, for most abusive language and insulting conduct by him to me, an officer in His Majesty’s army.

“Understanding that the agent of packets required that every person taking a passage on board the packets must apply to him for a pass or permission to do so, and for which he required the sum of half a moidore, and having been informed that this was without authority, I resolved on ascertaining that fact.

“Waiting on the agent to inquire of him by what authority he granted the passes, and took money for them, accosting him very civilly, he replied, that I had no right to question his authority, and that he would give me no information. Repeating my question, he told me he might have done so had I come like a gentleman; but that I was a disgrace to the cloth which I wore (being in uniform); that I was an impertinent

fellow; that *there* was the door, pointing to it, and ordering me to walk out. Taking no notice of such insolence, but repeating the question, I only received the same abuse. I then left the office, to wait on His Excellency Sir Charles Stuart, and reported to him the whole affair; and he directed me to give it him in writing. I have the honour to enclose to your Lordships copies of my letter to him and his answer.

“You will judge, my Lords, with what reason I have to complain to your Lordships of the conduct of the agent of packets at Lisbon, and how fully justified I am in expecting redress from your Lordships.

“I have the honour, &c. &c. &c.,

“LESLIE G. JONES,

“Captain 1st Guards, and Lieut.-Colonel.

“To My Lords

“The Postmaster-General.”

Jones's letter to Sir Charles Stuart, alluded to above.

“Lisbon, January 20th, 1813.

SIR,

“I have the honour to call your attention to a circumstance which I consider as a grievance to a British subject and an insult to a British officer.

“The agent of the packets assumes a control as to granting leave to individuals to take their passage on board of the packets, and for which leave he demands the sum of three dollars. This circumstance was communicated to me by the captain of the Lapwing packet, with whom I had taken my passage, and to whom I had paid my money. He told me he had received an order

from the agent not to take me on board except I had a pass granted me by him, and that he had therefore paid the exacted sum, and consequently received the pass.

“Waiting on the agent to inquire of him by what authority he granted passes, and exacted a sum of money for them, he replied, that he would not answer me, that I was not justified in making such an inquiry, and that he would give me no further answer, using much abusive language, and conducting himself very improperly, which conduct, from the notorious character of Mr. Reynolds, I feel myself relieved from noticing individually, but which, as a public agent, he should be corrected for officially. On telling the agent I should make application to your Excellency, he said he did not care, and that your interference should not allow my going on board the packets unless I took a pass from him.

“I took the precaution of being accompanied by a most respectable person, Mr. John Macdonnell of your Excellency’s acquaintance, besides whom there were several other persons present, and *among them some officers.*

“I have the honour, &c.

“LESLIE G. JONES.

“To His Excellency

“Sir Charles Stuart, &c. &c. &c.”

Sir Charles Stuart’s reply to Mr. Jones.

“Lisbon, 24th January, 1813.

“SIR, -

“I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th of January, stating the particulars of a de-

mand brought forward by the agent of the packets, which you considered to be unjustifiable, and which appears to have been couched in very offensive terms to yourself, and to the officers of the army.

“As the accompanying letter, which I have received from the agent, explains under what authority the sum of half a moidore is levied on passengers embarking in the packets, I think you will be convinced, if it is an abuse, it has not originated in Lisbon.

“I have equally to regret that the language or conduct of the agent should be in any manner offensive to an officer in the King’s service; and that it is out of my power officially to take cognizance of this part of your complaint, the agent being solely responsible for his general behaviour in the execution of his duty, to the head of his department, the Postmaster General, to whom I beg to refer you for redress.

“I have the honour, &c.

“C. STUART.

“To Major Jones,
“1st Guards.”

On the receipt of the foregoing five documents, my father wrote the following note three times over, and sent a copy of it to General Brooke, another to Mr. Custance, and a third to Mr. Mathewman, the three gentlemen who witnessed the scene.

“SIR,

“Being called upon by their Lordships the Postmaster General for a justification of my conduct towards Mr. Jones of the Guards, when he entered my office and addressed me respecting the fee demanded on

packet permits, fortunately for me, you were present, and I therefore request the favour of your candid opinion of my conduct on that occasion, a copy of which I may transmit to be laid before their Lordships.

“I have the honour to be, &c.

“THOMAS REYNOLDS.”

Major General Brooke's reply.

“Lisbon, March 14th, 1813.

“SIR,

“In reply to your letter of this day's date, requesting my opinion of your conduct relative to an altercation that took place at your office between Lieut.-Colonel Jones of the Guards and yourself, on the subject of a packet permit, at which I was present, I have to state (without entering into a detail of all the particulars) that I conceived it both warranted and justifiable, Lieut.-Colonel Jones being the aggressor by the authoritative and aggravating manner with which he addressed you; a manner certainly calculated to have inflamed the feelings of any individual holding a situation of trust and responsibility.

“I have the honour, &c.

“W. BROOKE, 5th Dgn. Gds.

“Major General.

*“To Thomas Reynolds, Esq., &c.”

Reply of Mr. Custance, of the House of Messrs. Custance, 87, Watling Street, London.

“Lisbon, 16th March, 1813.

“SIR,

“In reply to your note of the 14th instant, relative

to a misunderstanding between Lieut.-Colonel Jones of the Guards and yourself, concerning packet permits, I have only to observe that the manner in which Lieut.-Colonel Jones, *entered* your office and addressed you *was such* as in my opinion fully justified the *conduct* and *answer* given him by you.

“I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

“THOMAS CUSTANCE.

“To Thomas Reynolds, Esq., &c.”

Mr. Mathewman's reply.

“Lisbon, 16th March, 1813.

“SIR,

“In reply to your note which I received last night, asking my candid opinion of your conduct towards Lieut.-Colonel Jones of the Guards, being present at the time you allude to when he entered your office, I conceive you were fully warranted in the warmth of your expressions to that gentleman, from the intemperate and imperative manner he accosted you on that occasion; and to one holding a situation of public trust and responsibility to their Lordships the Postmaster General.

“I have the honour, &c.

“THOMAS MATHEWMAN.

“To Thomas Reynolds, Esq., &c.”

My father then wrote the following official reply to Mr. F. Freeling, to be laid before the Postmaster General, in reply to the charge, enclosing a copy of his letter to the three gentlemen above named, and their reply.

(Official.)

"Lisbon, 20th March, 1813.

"SIR,

"I trust it will not be thought necessary for me to trouble their Lordships with all the particulars of Lieutenant-Colonel Jones's conduct, or to use any argument to induce a belief that the gentlemen whose letters I have the honour to enclose, and who were the only persons present except those brought by the Lieutenant-Colonel, could not be unduly biased in their judgment, or could be prevailed upon to pronounce any other than a candid and fair opinion of what passed before them in my office, when Lieutenant-Colonel Jones so unwarrantably insulted me; if, however, it shall be thought necessary, I am quite prepared to detail all the circumstances as they passed, and very bad indeed must have been the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Jones to have caused me to use the language his letter details: for, whatever might be my opinion of the individual, I have too high a respect for his Majesty's commission to treat the possessors of it with inattention, and too great a sense of my own duty to compromise by such unworthy conduct the dignity of the office which I have the honour to represent. In the present case *I could* not have been prejudiced, as I did not know who the officer was until his brother-in-law, Mr. Veni-
comb, the commander of the packet, came to me for his permit. Whereas, on the part of Lieutenant-Colonel Jones, it appears he came attended by two followers, and resolved to insult me. His conduct was most rude and ungentlemanlike: he accused me of gross im-

position, of exacting unauthorised fees, and of unjustly and unlawfully taking his money out of his pocket; and when he demanded, or rather ordered, me to produce my authority, he did it in such a style as no gentleman could endure. I own I was much inclined to have appealed to Lord Wellington on the conduct of this officer, but I was deterred by feelings very opposite to those Lieutenant-Colonel Jones avows, when he affects to shelter himself under what he is pleased to call the "notoriety of my character," to evade the responsibility of a gentleman. I shall only say I have reason to believe the majority of his brother officers, and every gentleman in Lisbon, think very different of him and of me.

"For my own part, I never can expect a certain class of persons to be at peace with me; their hostility, however, is the best testimony that I have performed my duty conscientiously, and I trust firmly; and I hope the events which have occurred during the fifteen years which have elapsed since the unhappy days alluded to have sufficiently convinced all impartial men, that the conduct which I pursued amidst the difficult circumstances in which the disturbances in Ireland placed me, was influenced solely by the most disinterested loyalty and patriotism, in support of which I sacrificed my property and every personal consideration. I hope and believe that every loyal man approves of my conduct, and I also hope through life to continue to deserve the hatred and hostility of all others; no greater proof can be given of the former opinion by their Lordships than

their appointment of me to my present responsible situation ; and, while I am honoured with their Lordships' confidence, I trust I shall be protected from the rude and unmerited insults of every person who shall take advantage of my public situation to intrude themselves into my house, and vent the anger occasioned by my services during the Irish rebellion, which so effectually disappointed their views of ambition, plunder, or revenge.

“ I confess that, until I had the honour of receiving your enclosures, I was much at a loss to account for Lieutenant-Colonel Jones's violent and unprovoked attack on me, but his allusion to *my notoriety*, in the letter to his Excellency Sir Charles Stuart, solves the mystery, and points to what account I am to place it.

“ I hope their Lordships will excuse this long letter, which I fear I may be incorrect in troubling you with, as doubtless the sentiments of such respectable evidences as I now have the honour and happiness to enclose would have sufficed to justify me, but I felt that the sentence in the letter to Sir Charles Stuart, just alluded to, demanded some observation on my part, in support of my own honour, so as to justify their Lordships' appointment of me to a situation which it has been my pride to fulfil, as an honest man, a man of honour, and a gentleman.

“ I have the honour, &c. &c.

“ THOMAS REYNOLDS.

“ To Francis Freeling, Esq., &c. &c.”

The following private letter to Mr. Freeling accompanied the foregoing.

“Lisbon, March 18th, 1813.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I have the pleasure of forwarding by this mail my official papers in justification of my conduct towards Mr. Jones.

“A dinner was given yesterday by a merchant here to a very large company, in honour of St. Patrick’s-day. General Brooke was present, and my affair with Jones became a topic of conversation. The General openly and loudly declared at table *that he blushed to see a person in the uniform of an officer behave so ill as Jones did.* The affair has caused much talk in Lisbon, and I have the satisfaction of knowing that every person blames him except Mr. John Macdonnell, and six or seven others of the Irish rebel party. Jones is not only blamed for his ungentlemanly conduct in the first instance, but also for his subsequent cowardice in evading the responsibility of a gentleman.

“Allow me to thank you for the proof you gave of your confidence in my rectitude, by the endorsement you made on Jones’s letter for the Postmaster General.

“Believe me, dear Sir, &c. &c.

“THOMAS REYNOLDS.

“To F. Freeling, Esq., &c. &c.”

To these documents my father received the following replies :—

“General Post-office, 21st April, 1813.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I have very great pleasure in sending you by this

mail an official letter, highly honourable to you, and perfectly satisfactory as to Colonel Jones's complaints. Be assured that, whilst your proceedings continue such as they hitherto have been, you can never fail to receive our cordial support.

“ Believe me, with sincere regard, my dear Sir,

“ very faithfully yours,

“ F. FREELING.

“ To Thomas Reynolds, Esq., Lisbon.”

(Official.)

“ General Post-office, 31st April, 1813.

“ SIR,

“ Having laid before my Lords the Postmaster General your explanation of the charges preferred against you by Lieutenant-Colonel Jones, together with the documents relating thereto, I have very great pleasure in acquainting you that their Lordships have made a minute thereon, that *nothing could be more satisfactory. Mr. Reynolds's letters to General Brooke, and the other gentlemen who were present, are proofs of a high sense of honour, candour, and impartiality.* Their Lordships have further observed that they are inclined to let the matter rest here, unless Colonel Jones should revive it, and then they would send him copies of General Brooke's and the other letters.

“ I am, Sir, your faithful servant,

“ F. FREELING, Secretary.

“ To Thomas Reynolds, Esq.,

“ Lisbon.”

In October following, Mr. Freeling writes again on the same subject :—

“ General Post-office, October 13th, 1813.

“ MY DEAR REYNOLDS,

“ Although I have long been meditating a letter of thanks for your unexampled exertions to accommodate my uncle, W. Coxe, I feel that I cannot say anything more emphatical, or descriptive of my feelings, than that I thank you heartily, and cannot forget your unabated attention to all my wishes.

“ Your answer to Major Jones’s complaint was so very satisfactory, that I was specially directed by the Postmaster General not to take any further notice of his complaint. He stands, therefore, in the predicament of a man having preferred charges which a public office no further noticed than having acknowledged their receipt the moment when they were received.

“ Believe me, &c.

“ F. FREELING.

“ P.S.—I am sure you will be civil to Mr. Hitchinbrooks.

“ To Thomas Reynolds, Esq.,

“ Lisbon.”

Anxious to maintain himself in Sir Charles Stuart’s good opinion, my father sent him copies of all the foregoing correspondence. He is the present Lord Stuart de Rothesay.

CHAPTER XV.

Colonel Palmer introduced to Mr. Reynolds, who renders him valuable services—General Palmer forgets the debt of gratitude which he had contracted as Colonel Palmer—Mr. Coxe's letters to Mr. Reynolds—Mr. Reynolds's family joins him in Lisbon—Their distinguished reception—Mr. James Perry seeks an introduction to Mr. Reynolds on behalf of his wife and child—Mr. and Mrs. Reynolds's great attention to that lady—Mr. Perry's warm acknowledgments—His heartless and incredible ingratitude—His atrocious libel on his benefactor—Mr. C. Colclough, chief justice in Newfoundland—Sir Jonah Barrington begs Mr. Reynolds to protect his son—Mr. Reynolds's kindness towards Lieutenant Barrington—Sir Jonah Barrington's shuffling letters—Lieutenant Barrington's correspondence—His ingratitude, and his father's contemptible conduct—Sir George Blackman, General Slade, and Sir George Madden's letters to Mr. Reynolds—Captain Byrne's interesting letters from the army at Vittoria—Mr. Reynolds applies for the consulship which he had been promised—Lord Chichester's kind answer—Battle between the Malbro' packet and his majesty's brig the Primrose—Mr. Reynolds resigns—Returns to England—Fight in the Bay of Biscay with the True-blooded Yankee—Official letter from Sir Francis Freeling—Mr. Reynolds takes a house in London—The Rev. J. Russel's conduct towards Mr. Reynolds's son.

1813—1815.

In February, 1813, Mr. Freeling introduced Colonel Palmer to my father. His letter is as follows:—

“General Post-office, 26th January, 1813.

“MY DEAR REYNOLDS,

“This will be delivered to you by my gallant and affectionate friend Colonel Palmer, of the 10th Dragoons, Aid-de-Camp to the Prince Regent and Mem-

ber for Bath. When I tell you that I owe everything to his worthy father, I cannot better recommend him to the warm feelings of your nature. You have anticipated and exceeded every wish respecting Dynelly; you cannot oblige me more than by showing the same kindness to Palmer, who is one of the most honourable and manly creatures existing.

“ I am endeavouring to exert myself under the heavy calamity and affliction of the loss of my beloved and excellent wife. I have not had resolution to write to you before, but, under every circumstance, I am ever your obliged and attached,

“ F. FREELING.

“ To Thomas Reynolds, Esq.,

“ Lisbon.”

The following, which are from the Colonel's father, will best show how my father attended to the recommendation :—

“ Albany, London, March 24th, 1813.

“ Mr. Palmer's best regards to Mr. Reynolds, and begs leave to thank him for his kind attention to his sons, which he shall be happy to return when he visits England. Should the Captain have left Lisbon for England, he will have the goodness to forward both the letters, by the quickest conveyance, to Lieutenant-Colonel Palmer, as his immediate return to England is of the utmost importance; and a few lines from Mr. Reynolds (at the same time he may send the letters) to Lieutenant-Colonel Palmer, of the earliest

day any packet or ship-of-war sails for England, will be an additional kindness. Mr. Freeling is something better."

"Albany, March 31st, 1813.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"After your repeated kindnesses to my sons, and the interest you have been so good as to take in my affairs, I make no apology for troubling you with this, to hasten my son's return, which is absolutely necessary to a successful issue of my application to Parliament for justice.

"Believe me, dear Sir,

• "Your sincere and obliged, &c.

"J. PALMER.

"To Thomas Reynolds, Esq.,
&c. &c. &c."

Mr. Palmer speaks of his *sons* because my father was also very attentive to his son Captain Palmer, of the Royal Navy, who was then likewise at Lisbon. While Colonel Palmer remained in the Peninsula, my father advanced many thousands of pounds for him. Soon after this, Mr. Freeling writes the following letter :—

"General Post-office, 7th April, 1813.

"MY DEAR SIR,

• "I believe I am fated to give you trouble. My friend and uncle, William Coxe, the traveller, is about to write a History of Portugal during the administration of the Marquis of Pombal. He is of course anxious to get all possible materials; pray take the trouble to read the

enclosed note he has written to me, and the paper which he has drawn up, enclosed in his note. I flatter myself that if you can further his object you will do so, thus laying me under an additional obligation.

“Palmer writes to me so warmly and gratefully about your uncommon kindness to him, I think *he* cannot easily forget it,—I assure you *I* cannot.

“I was very sorry to see such a complaint from Colonel Jones ; nothing can be more satisfactory than the recoil of his own gun.

“Believe me, &c. &c.

“F. FREELING.

“To Thomas Reynolds, Esq., &c. &c.”

Colonel Palmer was then Colonel of the 10th Light Dragoons ; he was afterwards a General, and Member for Bath. It is very true that my father did show him *very uncommon* kindness ; he appeared sensible of it while he remained in Portugal, he afterwards *forgot* it. He was most intimate with my father, and was a constant guest at his table. My father had greatly served him, not only in Portugal but also in his claims on Government for his father's services, by his influence with the Earl of Limerick. Ten words would afterwards have repaid all, but General Palmer shrunk from the task !

In 1817, when my father was attacked by Sir Francis Burdett and others in the House of Commons, he went to General Palmer, who was then a member, and lodged in the Albion Hotel. He told him of the motion Bur-

dett threatened to make against him, and he requested General Palmer in case his Peninsular duties were brought in question, as he was convinced they would be by Burdett, in revenge for his relative Jones's affair, that he (General Palmer) would say what he knew of his character and conduct in Lisbon. General Palmer was in the house when Burdett made his attack, and particularly alluded to my father's conduct at Lisbon, saying, among other things, that he was well informed by British officers that my father had made unauthorised and illegal charges. General Palmer knew of Jones's business thoroughly; my father had also spoken to him only two days previously to prepare him for it—he never once opened his lips!! Why? Because Burdett brought the affair forward as a part of a political attack on Lord Castlereagh and the other ministers, and General Palmer, being in opposition, would not weaken the attack by the honest defence of the man whose kindness and hospitality he had so often experienced, and whom he had so often called his dear friend. So much for General Palmer's gratitude or friendship!!!

As the name of Mr. W. Coxe has been mentioned in one or two of Mr. Freeling's letters, before I proceed to give an account of another *dear friend*, I will show how my father was enabled to serve that gentleman.

In compliance with Mr. Freeling's request, he exerted himself very much to aid him in procuring materials for his work, and, owing to some connexions he had

formed in Lisbon, he was enabled to succeed beyond his expectations. His activity at length, caused a report to be made of it to Dom Miguel Pereira Forjas, Secretary of State, who at an assembly of our ambassadors spoke of it to him. My father explained the purposes for which he was making the researches, and he found that the most unfavourable report had been made of those views by the clergy ; but Dom Miguel from that moment afforded every facility in his power, even to the permission for copying documents which were only to be found in the royal archives, for which purpose my father employed a poor Portuguese gentleman, recommended and guided by Mr. Müller, who had long been librarian to the Queen, and with whose family and connexions my father was exceedingly intimate. The following are a few of the letters which my father received on this subject.

“ General Post-office, July 5th, 1813.

“ MY DEAR REYNOLDS,

“ It is impossible I can thank you as I ought to do for the able manner in which you have attended to my wishes respecting Mr. Coxe’s intended work, and for the industry and attention with which you have pursued his object.

“ I flatter myself he will be truly sensible of it all. The account of Lord Wellington’s great victory reached us on Saturday. What a wonderful man ! and how important is this event to all Europe at this moment ! I

hope you will have received Mrs. Reynolds and your family in perfect health before this reaches you.

“ Believe me,

“ With the sincerest attachment,

“ Most truly yours,

“ F. FREELING.”

“ Benneton, October 9th, 1813.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I waited till I had received the books which you were so good as to procure for me, before I returned my acknowledgment to you in form.

“ I did indeed consign a letter to my friend Christopher Bouchard, Esq., who is gone to Lisbon in the Auditor-General's department, but it was rather to introduce him to your acquaintance than to express my gratitude and thanks to you for your kindness and activity. The books which you have forwarded are invaluable for me, and in my opinion are reasonable considering the scarcity of several. My banker has paid into the hands of Coutts and Co. the sum of , which I believe is something over the account. The difference I will trouble you to add to the donation to the poor gentleman who assisted you in procuring them.

“ I have only to thank you again and again for your great attention and kindness, and to add my wishes that I could in return execute any literary or other commission for you.

“ You will oblige me if you will do me the favour to accept of my Spanish memoirs, and you will please to

let me know to whom I shall order them to be delivered in London to be forwarded to you.

“ I am, dear Sir,

“ Yours sincerely,

“ To Thomas Reynolds, Esq. “ WILLIAM COXE.

“ Lisbon.”

“ Salisbury, November 18th., 1813.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I beg leave to thank you for your kind letter, dated Lisbon, October 23rd, and am much obliged to you for the information contained in it. I duly received the packet of books you were so kind as to forward to me.

“ I have desired a copy of the Spanish memoirs, which you have done me the favour to accept, to be forwarded to you through our friend Mr. Freeling. As it is forwarded from my bookseller in London, I could not put my name in the title-page as you desire, but I have sent a slip of paper to be pasted on to answer the same purpose. I wish I could sufficiently acknowledge my obligations for your kind attention to my historical researches, and I do not wonder that my outlandish inquiries should have raised some sensation in Lisbon.

“ You would greatly oblige me if you could procure for me a good print (if such is to be had) of Barbara, the Portuguese Princess, and wife of Ferdinand the Sixth of Spain. I never thanked you for that of the Marquis of Pombal, I now supply that omission.

“ I am, dear Sir,

“ Yours very gratefully and sincerely,

“ To Thomas Reynolds, Esq. “ WILLIAM COXE.

“ Lisbon.”

The sum paid to my father's London banker included not only the price of the books, but the cost of transcribing, and all other expenses. The books were fifteen or sixteen volumes, some very scarce.

In the summer of the year 1813, my mother, with my two sisters and my brother, went out to join my father in Lisbon. She was immediately visited by our Ambassador (now Lord Stuart de Rothesay), Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Cassmajor, Mr. Hobart (now Lord Buckinghamshire), and others attached to the British mission ; by Admiral and Lady Emily Berkeley, Sir Thomas and Lady Hardy, Admiral Sir George Martin, and others attached to the navy ; by General Peacock, General Brooke, and all the staff of Lisbon ; by Mr. and Mrs. Dawkins, Mr. and Mrs. Pison, and a long list of the commissariat establishment ; by Mr. and Mrs. A'Court, (now Lord Heytesbury), by General Madden, and every officer of rank in Lisbon ; by the Patriarch and the Pope's Nuncio ; by the Spanish Consul General, by Don Miguel Pereira Forjas, the Secretary of State, the Marchionesses of Anjeja, and of Avito, and all their families ; by all the connexions of the Lacerda family, and in fine, by all that were distinguished in Lisbon ; as well as by our Consul General, Mr. Jeffries, and his lady, and all the principal merchants ; by members of the greatest native houses, such as the Möllers, the Metzners, the Sillaicos, the Ribeiros, the Sampayos, the Ratons, the Browns, &c. &c. &c., insomuch that her first reception-night was attended by upwards of three hundred ladies and gentlemen, and her subsequent ones, which were very frequent, by still more numerous assem-

blages. I mention this fact to show the consideration in which my father was then held in that country, and which never for an instant abated during his stay in it, and also to rebut the calumnies which have been circulated by his enemies latterly, as I shall show in another place.

. Soon after my mother's arrival, Mr. James Perry, the well-known editor and proprietor of *The Morning Chronicle*, which had for a long time been the leading opposition journal, and the organ of the Whig party, applied to Mr. Freeling for an introduction to my father and mother in behalf of his wife, who was ordered by her physicians to Lisbon, on account of a pulmonary complaint. It is needless to observe that Mr. Perry was well acquainted with my father's conduct and connexion with Government. Mrs. Perry was received with all the kindness and attention of a sister; my father and mother spared no pains to render her stay agreeable. She was a constant guest at their table, and every possible care was taken of her. I was then at school with William Perry, and, whenever the rules of the Charter-house permitted, I was in the habit of going with him to his father's house, and received all those little attentions from Mr. Perry which are so flattering to a boy. A few months after Mrs. Perry's arrival in Lisbon, my father received the following letter from Mr. Freeling:

General Post-office, November 17th, 1813.

“MY DEAR REYNOLDS,

“I cannot do better than send you a letter in which Mr. Perry expresses himself grateful for your and Mrs. Reynolds's kindness to Mrs. Perry.

“I have no establishment in town; I have given up my country-house; my whole family is at Brighton, and will be there until after Christmas. I shall, however, in a few days, find out your young man at the Charter-house; I can give him a mutton-chop. My eldest son was a Carthusian, he can talk over all that with your son at the Charter-house. He is a fine high-spirited boy, and, if he has any fault, it is, I am told, an exuberance of spirits: if I can show the poor fellow any attentions I shall be happy to do so.

“Coxe will be proud of the very handsome manner in which you express yourself; he will put his autograph, and I will readily send the book.

“Yours, &c.

“F. FREELING.”

The letter Mr. Freeling enclosed was this:—

“Strand, 17th November, 1813.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“Allow me to express to you the warm gratitude of my heart for the benefit of the kind interest you have taken in the welfare of my beloved wife. Through your most friendly recommendation Mr. Reynolds exerted himself on her arrival with the most anxious solicitude for her comfort, and procured her an excellent lodging. He afterwards, as well as his most amiable lady, contributed essentially to her ease, and showed her the kindest attentions. I entreat you will make known to them both the lively sense I entertain

of their goodness. I am sure you will be pleased to hear, from the sympathy which you feel in my misfortune, that the voyage, from its very roughness, had a beneficial effect on Mrs. Perry's complaint, by the effect of the sea-sickness on her chest, and that she felt quite a different being after the relief from an incredible quantity of bile on her chest.

"From this happy omen I augur most favourably from the step we have taken.

"I presume to trouble you with a letter to Mrs. Perry, and am, dear Sir,

"Your truly obliged servant,

"JAMES PERRY.

"To Francis Freeling, Esq.,

"&c. &c."

One month later Mr. Perry wrote to my father the following letter, to which I would call particular attention, as it affords an almost incredible contrast to a document which follows a little further on:—

"Strand, 30th November, 1813.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"*The warm and most friendly manner in which you and Mrs. Reynolds have received my dear wife has made the most indelible impression on my heart. She speaks of your kind attentions to her, in every letter, with the most lively gratitude; and, as my future happiness, as well as the character and fate of our children, depend on her recovery and return in health, I need*

not tell you how sensibly I feel the obligations which you have conferred upon me. I trust that it may at some time be in my power to show my sense of the favour in a manner more satisfactory than words; *it will afford me heartfelt pleasure to be useful to you in any way in which my opportunities* and my constant residence in London may point out to you to employ me, though I am sensible that you do not need an agent so humble, or with so little influence as myself.

“We are all on tiptoe with our glorious news; never to be sure in the history of mankind was a reverse so complete, effected in so short a space of time.

“Have the goodness to present my most grateful respects to Mrs. Reynolds, *and believe me to be, with the most perfect esteem,* my dear Sir,

“Your truly obedient and faithful servant,

“JAMES PERRY.

“To Thomas Reynolds, Esq.,

“&c. &c.”

After a year's residence in Lisbon, Mrs. Perry's health was apparently restored, and in June, 1814, she prepared to quit the Peninsula, and on that occasion writes to my mother as follows :—

11th June, 1814, Buenos Ayres.

“MY DEAR MRS. REYNOLDS,

“I take the liberty of returning your Burru saddle, cushions, &c. The chair, I fear, you will find somewhat injured in beauty, which I could not get restored. I must entreat you, my dear Madam, to accept my

warmest acknowledgments for all the kind attentions you and Mr. Reynolds have bestowed on me since my arrival in Portugal, and which I trust you will give me an opportunity of repaying when we meet in London. I am just setting off for Cintra, where I purpose remaining until a few days before my return for England. I shall do myself the pleasure of calling on you, on my return, to assure you that I am, my dear Mrs. Reynolds, your obliged friend,

“ANN PERRY.”

I have in my possession other letters from Mr. and Mrs. Perry, to the same effect, which I do not think it necessary to publish.

A few days after this Mrs. Perry, her daughter, and a Miss Bentley, left Lisbon for England, accompanied by a gentleman of the name of Alder, at whose persuasion, in opposition to my father's advice, they embarked on board a Swedish vessel, of whose cargo Mr. Alder was part owner. Their voyage was unfortunate,—the ladies were landed at Gibraltar, from whence they proceeded to Bordeaux, where Mrs. Perry experienced a violent return of her disorder, brought on by fatigue and annoyance, and soon after died.

On my father's return to England Mr. Perry was unbounded in his thanks and assurances of eternal regard and friendship for the obligations he said he felt himself under. Mutual invitations passed between them, and they were frequent guests at each other's tables.

When Sir Francis Burdett and his friends attacked my father in the House of Commons, in 1817, my father instantly called on Mr. Perry, not only to secure his paper, the *Morning Chronicle*, from admitting the usual opposition scurrility, but also to consult him as to what should be his conduct on the occasion. They passed an hour together in his study in consultation. Never was he so friendly in his manner towards my father: he expressed the utmost indignation at the conduct of Sir Francis, and the strongest personal contempt of Montague Matthew, whom he represented as a base and cowardly calumniator, who had suffered a public horse-whipping from Mr. Butler Danvers. He gave my father the greatest assurances of his friendly aid; and promised that if any attack should be made on him in other papers, the *Chronicle* should defend him.

My father retired, perfectly satisfied that he had for his friend the leading opposition paper, and he knew he should have nothing to fear from the Government journals.

Judge then of his disgust and amazement, when, *next morning*, Perry's paper was laid upon his breakfast table, and he found the leading article, written by Perry himself, after half a column of blame to Lord Castlereagh, thus continuing:—"His Lordship might, however, have made good his retreat, with a decent, orderly appearance, if he had not chosen to go out of his way to take up a spy behind him on his new metaphysical charger, and to ride the high horse over all those who are not the fast friends and professed ad-

mirers of that profession, as traitors and no true men. Sir Francis Burdett, not relishing this assault of the master and man, pulled off the squire, and, rolling him in the mud, pelted him so unmercifully with Irish evidence and musty affidavits of his friends and relations, that his gallant patron, seeing the plight he was in, dismounted, and was condescending enough to acknowledge that cruelty was in every species detestable, and that he lamented to think that there were *miscreants in human nature* capable of committing crime for the love of reward, sentiments not new indeed, but new in his Lordship's mouth. 'The country gentlemen must have felt relieved, and Lord Lascelles' hat have recovered its primitive shape. The House of Commons is no dupe, Lord Castlereagh no driveller. Would he then seriously persuade them that the spy hanged his old friends and accomplices out of pure love to his country, and disinterested friendship to his Lordship? We would advise the noble lord in the blue ribband to cut his parliamentary connexion with his police acquaintance at once. The thing cannot answer, it is against decorum: he might as well introduce his nightman as a person of fashion at Carlton House, as attempt to pass off his spy as a gentleman and a man of honour anywhere else! The gentlemen ushers would turn up their noses at one of his Lordship's necessary appendages, and the moral sense of the English nation turns with disgust from the other, when forced upon it as a *beau morceau* of morality, with the *sauce piquante* of ministerial panegyric!!'"

As Mr. Perry truly says, there are "miscreants in human nature ;" but, bad as human nature is, I would not have ventured to publish this statement, if I had not the letters now before me, for I feel persuaded that no one would have believed me. My father and Mr. Perry have both gone to their account ; my old schoolfellow, Mr. William Perry is, however, still living, and, if ever he wishes to see his father's letters, I hold them at his disposal. My father despised Mr. Perry too much ever to notice him again in any way.

Among other old Irish acquaintances who sought the renewal of former intimacy with my father, while he was in Lisbon, were Cæsar Colclough, Esq., a gentleman of the Irish bar, and Sir Jonah Barrington, also of the same profession, and judge of the Irish Court of Admiralty. The former wrote as follows:—

" St. John's, Newfoundland, Sept. 29, 1813.

" Dear Reynolds,

" Fate has removed me for my sins to this cursed spot as chief justice, and I have by chance just heard that you are postmaster-general at Lisbon. I write this in the counting-house of an Irish merchant, whose ship is bound for Lisbon, by way of opening a correspondence, and renewing an acquaintance. I have been here but a few days, so can give you no account of anything, but I shall expect to have a full letter from you, with much information. Make my best wishes acceptable to Mrs. Reynolds and family. " Yours truly,

" C. COLCLOUGH.

• " 'To Thomas Reynolds, Esq., &c."

My father answered Colclough's letter, and sent him two chests of oranges by the same vessel from Lisbon.

Sir Jonah Barrington must have a somewhat longer notice.

In the latter half of the last century Mrs. Barrington, his mother, a very respectable widow-lady of small income, lived with three of her daughters in a lodging in the town of Athy, where also some of her other children, who were very numerous, occasionally resided ; and, being connected with, or allied to, many considerable families, she maintained a very general acquaintance throughout the neighbourhood. My grand-uncle Thomas Fitzgerald, of Geraldine, who was one of the nearest neighbours, was also one of the most intimate ; and, as my father passed much time at Geraldine, he contracted an intimacy with the younger branches of Mrs. Barrington's family. Mr. Jonah Barrington was one of the many sons of this lady ; but, pursuing his studies for the profession of law, he was less at Athy than some of his brothers. Having obtained the hand of the eldest daughter of a Mr. Grogan, a silk-mercator of Dublin, the wealth of his father-in-law enabled him to get into parliament, and afterwards to acquire, partly by purchase, and partly by his parliamentary interest, the employment of judge of the Irish Court of Admiralty, and the honour of knighthood. Sir Jonah Barrington's parliamentary and legal pursuits gradually rendered his visits to Athy less frequent, so that my father's acquaintance with him was but slight when the troubles broke out ; and in the year 1800 my father came with

his family to reside in England. From that period he had no intercourse with any individual of the Barrington family until July, 1812, when he was much surprised at receiving the following letter from Sir Jonah.

“Weymouth, 20th July, 1812.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“As an old friend, will you excuse the trouble I am about to give you in a matter I am much interested about?

“My son, a lieutenant in the 5th Dragoon Guards, wrote to me that he had received a sudden order to proceed to Portugal, with a detachment of his regiment, without a moment's delay, and so unexpected was his rout, that I find he has gone without my having had an opportunity of either seeing or writing to him, and I fear he may have been, in consequence of the suddenness of his rout, unprepared in some degree. He is sixteen years of age, has been these two years with the Duke of Clarence, and is totally unacquainted with the world and its ways.

“The favour I have to request of you is that you will be so good as to inquire for him on his arrival at Lisbon, and, if he is in any way unprepared to join, that you will procure him anything *requisite* or essential, and give him your instructions in anything necessary; and let him, if any expense occurs, draw on me, Brook-street, London.

“Lady Barrington and myself are so interested about this poor lad's sudden order off, that you will see

and excuse all the trouble we give you, and you will have the goodness to deliver him the enclosed ; or, if he has marched to join before you receive this, will you have the goodness to write to him on service, and not let him want anything requisite for him ? I am quite ignorant if it be the case, but take this precaution.

“ Lady B. joins me in good wishes and compliments to you.

“ Dear Sir, yours very truly,

“ JONAH BARRINGTON.

“ To Thomas Reynolds, Esq., &c. &c.”

My father had heard many stories of Sir Jonah's conduct in money matters, which were very sufficient to have prevented a prudent man from noticing this application ; and his old friend and relative Captain Michael Byrne, of the Royals, who chanced to be present at the moment he received the letter, and to whom he applied to aid him in finding young Barrington, most strongly dissuaded him, assuring him that the whole was merely a new scheme of Sir Jonah's to raise the wind, and to laugh at him afterwards. But such an application from a man whose family he had known, in favour of his son, whom he represented as a raw, ignorant youth, launched into the vortex and confusion of the campaign, without either friends, or money, or equipments,—such an application, I say, could not be made to my father in vain. He sought out the lieutenant, whom he found in a miserable room at Belem, near Lisbon, to the full as unprovided as his father's letter, and my father's own fancy had depicted him to

be. My father immediately advanced him all he required for his complete equipment, to enable him to join and to pay some debts he had contracted at Belem ; and in a few days he set off for the army, as well mounted and attended as any officer of his rank could be.

On the 14th of November following Sir Jonah wrote a very long letter to my father, in which, among other things, he said,—“ I wrote to you, my dear Sir, by Mr. Spence, last month, to return you mine and Lady Barrington’s warmest thanks for your kind attentions to my poor lad. I have been particularly unhappy about him, as three letters I have written to him before his departure, which was protracted longer than I thought, have been returned to me, opened at the post-office after he sailed, and I fear he may suppose some inattention to him. I cannot express how much we feel obliged by your kindness, and do most anxiously wish to have some early opportunity of returning your favours. You have acted by him and us the part of a very sincere friend. We have just returned from London, and with a heavy heart, as there the day we left it we were informed that Edward was very ill at a place call Nisa, twelve days’ journey from Lisbon. I felt it very odd that since he saw you I never received a line from him, or of his, save that communication. I waited with impatience to hear from you or him about him, and the more so as he is, since I wrote last to you, become my only son : his brother died last month. *My dear Reynolds*, I cannot express how obliged I am by your letter ; my poor boy is now the last relict of

our ancient family. I have my fears about him; God send they are groundless! Lady B. joins me in best thanks and regards.

“ Your most sincere servant,
“ JONAH BARRINGTON.”

While Sir Jonah was writing these friendly letters he quite forgot to make any mention of repaying my father's advances, which so fully corroborated all he had previously heard, that he determined to hold his hand, and wrote to that effect to Lieutenant Barrington, saying that he must decline making further advances until his father should have placed those already made in some way of settlement. Lieutenant Barrington in reply said that, not knowing his father's address, he wished himself to place the advances on a regular footing of payment, hoping when that was done to be allowed to look forward for future favours; and for that purpose he proposed to pay 10 dollars a-month out of his pay, until the 208 dollars lent should be repaid. My father made not the least difficulty in acceding to his wishes; and, being acquainted with Captain Brunker, the paymaster of the 5th Dragoons, he told Lieutenant Barrington to arrange the matter with Captain Brunker, as should be most agreeable to himself. In reply to this acquiescence Lieutenant Barrington wrote as follows:—

“ Santarem, December 6th, 1812.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I have received yours, and am perfectly conscious of my father's error in not writing to you, but I am

particularly obliged to you for your kind offer, and have written to Captain Brunker, and expect an answer every day, which I shall enclose you when it will reach me. I am very poorly at present: I have never received a line from my father since I came to this country, save the note he enclosed to you on my arrival, which I think very extraordinary, as he never treated me so before. Now I must conclude by believing me, my dear Sir,

“ Yours most truly,*

“ E. BARRINGTON.

“ To Thomas Reynolds, Esq., &c. &c.”

This correspondence produced the following laboured collection of excuses from Sir Jonah :

“ Guernsey, 1st January, 1813.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I have been deeply concerned by a letter I received from my son, mentioning, among other matters, that you had conceived I neglected replying to you. Be assured I felt too much obliged by your letters and your friendly conduct to my son to neglect every acknowledgment of it. He was at a moment's warning hurried away from England, without my even seeing him ; and every letter I wrote to him, and sent through Mr. Spence, has been since returned to us. I gave Edward authority to draw on my agent in London, and directed his bills to be honoured (a Mr. Moffat), who had some hun-

* I copy verbatim from the original now before me.

dred pounds of mine in his hands. This man charged me in accounts with large sums paid Edward, which I now find was totally false, and, as, I was in Guernsey with Sir John Doyle, I ordered all my letters to Edward, and one to you, to be forwarded by Mr. Moffat from London; all these I find have never been sent, and he has also suppressed my London letters from Edward, as they have all been found by Lady B. last week in the dead-letter office. To these circumstances only we attribute any supposed neglect of mine, and I am sure some letters of yours to me must have miscarried, *as Edward mentions kind advances of yours to him, which I never received any letter from you particularising,* and which I shall repay with thanks.

“ He wrote to me from Santarem long after I thought he had joined the army, and I find he wanted money very much, which has sorely hurt me. He is now my only son, and of course I am most deeply interested about him. He says he has been very ill; if his indisposition continues I must endeavour to get him home.

“ I have by your own permission sent him a small parcel through you, as he conceived flannel shirts, &c., might be necessary to him.

“ Dollars are 6 shillings here, and I am told that bank-notes are at a still greater discount in Portugal; I have therefore authorised my son to draw quarterly on the house of Gidgeon and Co., Mincing-lane, London; and, as you were so good as to say you had desired Edward to apply to you ‘*in all his difficulties,*’ I must beg you will have the goodness to direct him in

this business, as he seems to me to be perfectly unknowing in the mode of doing any business where he is, and, *if I am to judge from his letters, extremely ill.*

“ I send this letter by Mr. Standfast, the supercargo of the brig sailing hence, and I conceived it the best mode of writing : but I shall write by post more fully both to you and Edward.

“ Will you have the goodness to have the enclosed delivered to Colonel Brooke of the 5th Dragoons, from whom I also received a letter ? We have most contradictory reports and opinions as to the business in the Peninsula. Lady B. joins me in sincere well-wishes.

“ Dear Sir, &c.

“ JONAH BARRINGTON.”

After this my father heard no more of father or son for about three months, when the following letter reached him :

“ Veriole, March, 1813.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I have not heard from you for some time. I wish to know if you have heard from my father lately, and if you have, to know if he has settled with you for what you have advanced to me, as I have now joined my regiment, and have written to him particularly about it ; and, if you receive any letters for me, I shall be very much obliged to you if you will forward them to the regiment, as Colonel Brooke sent me a letter a short time since from my father to him, wherein he said he

had sent you a letter and some other articles through you, and which I have not yet received. Nothing new going on here, but the horses are getting on very fast.

“ Yours truly,

“ E. BARRINGTON.

“ 5th Light Dragoon Guards.”

To this my father replied by stating to him the substance of his father's letter of 1st January, and telling him that he might be certain of having everything forwarded to his regiment, through the usual mode, which might come for him. Five more months passed without anything being done, when at last Lieutenant Barrington wrote the following letter :

“ Estella, August, 9th 1813.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I wrote to you some time since, but have not yet heard from you. My last letter from England gave me intelligence of my grandfather's death (old Grogan), and I wish to know if you will have the goodness to wait till his will is settled, when I will be able to pay you all I owe you together. My mother is now in Dublin about it, and I expect letters every post. He died on the 27th of May last, and my mother immediately went to Dublin ; so everything must be settled before now. Money has been very scarce here for some time ; we have now seven months due, but expect an order for some immediately ; but you must know that it is very hard to live on much less than our pay. We have just

marched into this town to take up quarters for some time. Nothing new—Pamplona going on very badly, all Spaniards investing it, but the French come out of the town every day and forage, the Spaniards cannot keep them in. Pray write to me by return of post.

“ Yours truly,

“ E. BARRINGTON.”

My father's reply was,—

“ Lisbon, August 26th, 1813.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ When I advanced to you the money which you mention in your letter of the 9th instant, it was to serve, not to distress you ; the same sentiment ever has and still does guide me. You proposed to pay it at ten dollars per month ; I acceded. Your father says he has authorised you to draw on London ; I am equally content to receive it in that way. You now propose a third way ; I am equally satisfied with it as with the others ; *I have only to request you will adopt some one way or other ;* suit your own convenience entirely. Either pay the ten dollars a-month to Mr. Brunker as your pay may be issued, or transmit me a draft on the house of Gidgeon and Co., Mincing-lane, at such date as you think proper, or transmit me a letter to Lady Barrington, desiring her to pay such person as I shall appoint for my use, out of the first moneys coming to you or to her out of your grandfather's assets. In the latter cases you are not to compute the dollar at its present price, which is 6*s.*, but at 5*s.* 4*d.*, which was the price when I advanced you the money, and which

will make the sum 55*l.* sterling. Brooke is now at my elbow and desires to be remembered to you.

“Yours very truly, .

“THOMAS REYNOLDS.

“To Lieut. Barrington, &c.”

Lieutenant Barrington never made any reply to this letter, but my father perceived by the payments made for his account by Captain Brunker, that he adopted the first plan by which only 1*l.* remained due to him when the regiment quitted the Peninsula, about two years afterwards.

After my father's return to London, he one day met Lieutenant Barrington's two aunts, Misses Anne and Margaret Barrington, who, as old acquaintances, invited him to their lodging in New Bond-street. From those ladies he learned that all Grogan's succession had been paid almost two years before, and that the lieutenant was quartered at York. He still owed my father a balance of 1*l.* Accordingly, in December, 1814, my father wrote him a friendly letter reminding him of it. No reply. He wrote again in January, 1815; still no reply. In July, 1815, he wrote a third letter, and had it sent under cover to the post-master at York, with orders from the general post-office to deliver it himself to its address, and at length, in August, 1815, he received the following reply:—

“August 3rd, Thursday Evening.

“SIR,

“I have just received your letter of the 30th last month, and I hercin inclose you 10*l.*, being the amount

of what I owe you. I did not know your direction or I would have sent it to you before now. I have never got your letters, which you say you wrote in December and January. I got not one from you since I wrote last, and I hope never to have any more, as it is now at an end.

“ I am, &c. &c.

“ E. BARRINGTON.

“ To Thomas Reynolds, Esq., .

“ &c., &c., &c.

To this return for all his kindness and forbearance, my father replied as follows, first showing his letter and the reply to the Lieutenant's aunts :—

“ London, August 10th, 1815.

“ SIR,

“ I have just received your letter of the 3rd, covering 10*l.*, which you sent me in discharge of 11*l.* odd, due to me as balance of the sum of 55*l.*, which I lent to you at Lisbon in 1812.

“ Be assured, young gentleman, that nothing but the very urgent entreaties of your father, and pity for the forlorn situation he represented you to be in, and in which, in truth, I found you, could have induced me to trouble myself about you ; and had he kept his word, or had you been punctual in the payments you undertook of ten dollars a month, you would never have heard from me more ; and so desirous am I to end all acquaintance with you, that I freely forgive you the 1*l.*

odd remaining, sooner than ever more be troubled with your correspondence.

“THOMAS REYNOLDS.

“ P.S.—Being in the habit of preserving all letters sent to me, as well as copies of all I write, your father’s and your correspondence is now all before me, and well it looks compared with your letter of the 3rd instant.”

Sir Jonah, like Mr. James Perry, forgetting all his acknowledged obligations to my father, some years afterwards published a work which he calls his “Personal Memoirs,” in which he presumes to speak of my father in a very disrespectful manner, as connected with the affairs of 1798. I mention this to show the despicable character of this man. He was in Ireland during the whole of the troubles; he well knew all particulars of my father’s conduct there. If he disapproved of it, why place himself, and his wife and son, under all this obligation to him in 1812? Why address him as his “Dear Reynolds, &c?” But, having done so, why bring his name forward, as he has done in his book, as having acted improperly in 1798? I can only account for his conduct by presuming it to arise out of that feeling of dislike so frequently engendered in the minds of certain contemptible characters, by a conscious weight of obligation which they are unable to repay, and unwilling to acknowledge. I dare say he imagined that he might by such means sell a few more copies of his work, a flimsy collection of idle and distorted anecdotes, mingled with vain boasting of his own family and consequence.

How refreshing it is to turn from such details of ingratitude, which exhibit human nature in the most hateful point of view, to record the conduct of others under similar circumstances.

There is now before me a letter dated January 20th, 1813, from Sir George Blackman, a director of the Bank of England, to my father, in which, after much chat, he says :—" My letters from John (his son) go the 24th December at Mongualde ; he had received the valuable articles you so kindly forwarded to him from Lisbon. I can never repay the attention and assistance you have rendered to the guardsman. I remain, my dear sir, most sincerely yours,

" G. BLACKMAN."

This gentleman did not forget his obligations afterwards, but, as long as my father resided in London, their intimacy was undiminished.

Among the multitude of letters now before me, I cannot resist inserting three or four, which, though not immediately connected with my father's memoirs, yet serve to show how he was esteemed by all classes, and especially by British officers of all ranks. The first is from General Slade, who was long in the Peninsula ; he was created a baronet in September, 1831, on the coronation of King William.

" Tullamore, 14th May, 1814.

" MY DEAR SIR,

" Your letter of the 4th ultimo, I have only just received, and I hasten to acknowledge it with many

thanks. You will see by the papers that they have *duked* Lord Wellington, and *baronnéd* Hope, Cotton, Hill, and Beresford; and I trust that Parliament will, in their wisdom, give them wherewithal to support their titles.

“ We look daily to hear of our army from France returning home, with the exception of the troops it may be found necessary to send to America, when we may expect the brevet will appear—the brevet that will deprive many of us of our bread! I shall turn my sword into a ploughshare, and go and look after the dirty acres I fortunately possess in Somersetshire, which I think will keep me from *starving*. At all events, and under any circumstances, I shall have a joint of meat and a bottle of port for you, as good wine as you ever tasted, some of Charlie’s best, put into my cellar in the year 1796. *To keep up* the stock, I sent *five* pipes from Porto of the very first quality. This will do, I should imagine, though I have seven sons to drink the King’s health every day after dinner. Now adieu; I shall always be happy to hear from you.

“ Faithfully yours,

“ JOHN SLADE.

“ To Thomas Reynolds, Esq., &c.”

General Sir George Madden thus writes:—

“ At length I have been enabled to transmit through your friend Mr. Fowler a parcel for Mrs. and Miss Reynolds, which I hope you will allow me to offer as

some small remembrance of the many pleasant and happy hours I have passed in your family, and which I shall ever recollect with the most heartfelt satisfaction ; and if at any time either yourself or any of them desire any commands which I can execute, I beg you most freely to employ me. Pray remember me to such friends as frequent your mansion, and accept my best thanks for the kindness you shewed me."

This gentleman was the intimate friend of my father and his family until his death.

The next that I insert are from Captain Michael Byrne, paymaster of the Royal Dragoons. He was married to Miss Moore, niece of the earl of Chesterfield, and to the honourable Arthur Stanhope, comptroller of the foreign Post Office ; he was my father's cousin. He thus writes from Dublin :—

" Dublin, 16th December, 1811.

" MY DEAR REYNOLDS,

" I received your affectionate letter, *via* Stanhope, and for the first time in my life am angry with you, Tom. How can you express obligations to me, my dear and valued friend, after considering me a friend and relative ? What little attention I paid your young ones was a tribute of affection from the heart, in consequence of the kind, and I must say, sisterly affection paid to me by your unparalleled wife, whose worth is a diamond of the purest water, &c. Adieu, my dear and valued friend, ever and ever faithfully your relative,

" M. BYRNE."

Soon after this letter was written he returned to the Peninsula and joined the army. From his voluminous correspondence I select two letters which are highly characteristic and very interesting.

“ Puebla, within 2 leagues of Vittoria,

“ 20th June, 1813.

“ MY DEAR REYNOLDS,

“ To our astonishment, here we are without any opposition of consequence until yesterday, when Hill fell in with Lacune’s advanced guard, and surprised it: in short, it was the uncommon circumstance of two advanced guards coming in contact, and both moving to gain the same position. Lacune was *completely surprised*, lost in killed and wounded about 1000 men. To-day we all expect to pierce the centre of the enemy, and cut him off from Vittoria, where I hope to be in the morning. Such are the happy consequences of the fine combined movements of Graham and our centre. Our loss from the commencement of our march, now *26 days in succession*, not to be mentioned; I can assure you that we have not left out of the whole army 500 men in the rear. Owing to the great abundance, our cavalry are in as fine condition as when they left winter quarters; *we want for nothing*. Such men as fall sick or weary, are put in Digby Hamilton’s waggons, which for the first time are made useful; so that in general the next day they are able to march. If we get to Vittoria to-day, I will put a * on the back of my letter, and if there should be a fight I will place *. No packet or letter

since the 18th of May, except newspapers to a few great men, to the 3rd of June. Could you not, my dear Tom, send me mine as a letter through Mansell,* with a charge to send it with the *first batch as a letter*.

“Nothing can exceed the horrors committed by the enemy from Salamanca to this place, which they left yesterday. Although they blew up the castle of Burgos, we fully expected to be opposed on the Ebro. Here Lord Wellington showed his great abilities; instead of attacking Joseph near Burgos, where he took up a fine position, he left a corps of Spaniards opposite to him as a diversion; made a rapid march to the left, passed the defiles and mountains, that with a force of 1000 men and a good officer, would have defended with success the passage of the Ebro against our whole force; crossed the river by the bridge at Ponte Rena, halted a few hours that night, then proceeded by forced marches through Medina, Pomar, La Circa, Moulin de Losa, to this town, when, with bellies full of beefsteaks and good rum, we came up with *Monsieur Soup Maigre*. I am now writing to you in Lacune’s billet. The prisoners say they were completely deceived, supposing us at Burgos, or near it, and little did they imagine what British troops were equal to after a march of thirty days to some corps of the army, and of twenty-six days to others. All is content, high spirits, and confidence without bounds in our great and wonderful chief. I must leave our army, at this moment, I hope, piercing

* Mansel was the Military Post Sergeant at Lisbon.

the enemy's centre, and take you back a few days to scenes of desolation.

“ After a march of three days over the cold and bleak mountains which separate, *parallel* with the Cordilleras, Old Castile from the province of Biscay, from the summit of a high mountain we came suddenly in view of the Ebro, flowing through a valley of immense extent ; fourteen towns are situated on its banks. From a climate cold as it is in England in March, we descended for an hour and a half, delightful as it is winter in a tropical one ; everything produced on earth seemed to be the gift of this fairy-land, and, were I allowed to indulge in scriptural romance, I would pronounce the valley of Ponte Rena the original abode of our first parents.

“ The French had been here for many months, and behaved with a respect towards its innocent inhabitants that brought down all their confidence ; everything was in abundance, and everything afforded that could alleviate their wants and contribute to their comforts. We approached—the dream of happiness vanished ;—the barbarous enemy first levied contributions in money, then seized on all their corn, wine, and oil ; then forced them to purchase it at more than its real value ; and then, as a lasting *memento* to the wretched inhabitants, burned the whole ; and left fourteen beautiful towns one scene of misery and woe. It would have delighted, and at the same time sickened your heart, to have seen our brave fellows throwing, not wishing to be seen doing it, a part of their rations to the famishing children. Never having before seen British troops, the women gazed

with wonder at the cavalry and its fine equipments. As we wound round the valley our bands struck up the *Bollero* and *Fandango* ; like magic all was in motion—the beautiful girls formed groups before the different regiments, and, with all the grace and agility peculiar to the Spanish women, went through all the mazes and tasteful movements of their dances. I rejoice to have lived to see such fairy-ground ; I left it with regret. The pleasure and pain I experienced I can never forget. We were cheered in ascending the hills and winding along the enchanting scenery of the *Ebro*, with sincere *vivas* from its innocent inhabitants, who seemed to lose all recollection of their miseries at the sight of their deliverers.

“ I had hopes that we might soon meet, my dear Reynolds, that I should soon see you blessed in possession of your worthy and amiable wife and children ; but, should reverse even attend our army, Lord Wellington will never retreat on Portugal.

“ This country affords lines of defence that will put at rest for ever all possibility of the enemy ever coming into it. You will now make up your mind to live in Lisbon, beloved by a new circle of friends. God knows then if I am destined to meet you for many years, or to thank you in person for all your kindness to me, but for ever you have my heartfelt esteem and friendship, and so has Mrs. R. and your children. May God bless you, my worthy friend !

“ Ever yours,

“ M. BYRNE.”

The following is not less interesting.

“ Vittoria, June 23rd, 1813.

“ MY DEAR REYNOLDS,

“ I hope you distinguished the two crosses on the back of my letter of the 21st, to signify that we had pushed on here and had a fight for it. Yesterday was a glorious day, and I hope for happy results from it. We took 137 pieces of cannon, double that number of carriages filled with ammunition, the military chest with eight millions of reals,* immense stores, &c. &c. I have just seen the poor Commissary General, who yesterday was in possession of this treasure: he is now with his wife here, and not wherewithal to buy a loaf.

Count Casare's wife is also a prisoner, who is at present Commander-in-chief. I never saw a finer thing than the affair of yesterday. The French occupied a height of difficult access; on their left was the village of Pobra, where they had columns of infantry, and the wood down the hill was filled with riflemen. It was their intention, as Hill's corps wound round this hill on the great road to Vittoria, to pour down on our rear, and cut off our retreat to the village; however, even their idea of the possibility of the thing did not succeed. Cadogan with the 71st attacked the position, got, after a gallant attack, near the summit, was repulsed by a fresh column of the enemy, made another desperate and successful charge, and drove them down the mountain with dreadful slaughter. Cadogan, the pride of his

* A real is 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. ; this chest contained 180,000*l.* sterling.

profession, was mortally wounded. I saw him cheer his brigade, and mount the hill wounded, and surrounded by admiring heroes for his gallantry, and in a few hours laid across the back of a mule, with no mourner but his faithful servant, whose heart was breaking. So much for HONOUR! From the summit of this position I saw the French in beautiful order of battle; the wind was in their favour, and they occupied a position that I thought could not be carried; their right leaned on a deep and rapid river, their whole line possessed itself of a most advantageous ground, and their guns were delightfully served; they occupied a wood in their centre, which they kept to the last. The attack lasted five hours, and at length, having been turned, they went off like gentlemen; no hurry, no confusion. At Vittoria it was otherwise, all was distress; every one that chose got a carriage, got anything. I did not, nor am I sorry for it, for all lay claim to-day to everything. The magazines are immense, but our good allies, the Spaniards, lay claim to them, and Kennedy as yet has made no arrangements with the fellows. Lord Wellington is eight leagues in advance; I must follow for the muster to-morrow, so, God bless you, my dear Tom.

“ Ever yours,

“ M. BYRNE.

“ P.S. The French prisoners are not numerous; many officers. As to us, our loss is more than you will *read* of.”

The extraordinary and wonderful events which took place in 1812 and 1813 gave my father hopes that

such an opening would be afforded to Government for the appointment of British consuls, as would justify his applying for the fulfilment of the promises made to Lords Camden and Chichester for him on his accepting the Lisbon Agency. Accordingly, in January, 1814, he wrote to Lord Chichester on the subject, and received the following reply, which I insert to show that his Lordship recognised my father's claims, and also to prove his good opinion of my father's conduct in the department he filled under the General Post-office.

“ Stanmore, February 1st, 1814.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I have not been inattentive to the subject of your letter, although the delay in my answer must, I fear, have led you to suppose I had forgotten it. Lord Castlereagh was on the point of leaving England, and, being in the country, I had no opportunity of seeing him, but I desired Mr. Freeling to communicate your wishes to Mr. Cooke, in order that they might be laid before Lord Castlereagh, in the event of any opportunity presenting itself for attending to them. I can only add that, officially, I shall very much regret any circumstance which should deprive the Post-office of your services, but, if a more advantageous or more agreeable situation should be open, you may depend upon such support as I can give you. I must take this opportunity of expressing the great satisfaction I have received from your correspondence with Mr. Freeling, and *the repeated commendation of you which I have heard from different officers in the army*; among others, my cousin,

Mr. Neville, who happens now to be with me, and desires me to present his best compliments to you. He had a bad wound in the thigh in the Pyrenees, and is still lame. Your old acquaintance Lord Carlton passes his Christmas with me. He always speaks of you with great regard.

“ I am ever very faithfully yours,

“ CHICHESTER.

“ To Thomas Reynolds, Esq.,

“ &c. &c.”

A very awkward occurrence took place in March, 1814.

The Lisbon packets were all armed with four long nine-pounders, and with six twelve-pound carronades. They had thirty men each, and were of about 200 tons burden. Their instructions were, “ never to fight if they could escape without it; but, if forced to fight, they were expected to do their duty.” They were at all times to have the portmanteau containing the mail-bags slung in such a manner as to be easily and speedily dropped into the sea, and so loaded with iron weights that it would sink instantly and rapidly when dropped, as it was not on any occasion to be allowed to fall into the hands of an enemy.

During my father's stay in Portugal we were so fortunate as never to lose a mail either out or home, although our packets frequently fought for it. The Marlborough packet, Captain John Bull, coming from England, being off the Tagus, was signaled by a large

ship of war to bring-to. Bull made his regular signal, which the other did not answer ; he therefore considered her to be an enemy, and continued his course. The other then fired right into the Marlborough. Bull directly hoisted his colours and returned the shot : the other ran him alongside, and threw in her full broad-side, which Bull as promptly returned ; and they fought thus at pistol distance for about half an hour, the other never showing any colour during the whole period : at length, from some words which were heard, Bull discovered he had been fighting with an English brig-of-war : he therefore hailed his opponent ; an explanation took place, and the fight ended. Six men were killed and twenty-three wounded on board the brig-of-war ; two were killed and seven wounded on board the Marlborough. This affair was hushed up by the influence of the family of the commander of the brig. The Marlborough came into the Tagus sadly mauled in her hull : every care was taken of the poor seamen ; and the damages were speedily repaired. On this occasion my father received the following letters—the one from Captain Bull, the other from his surgeon, Mr. Monteath :—

“ Duke of Marlborough Packet, Tagus, 26th March, 1814.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ Many thanks to you for your kind and friendly attentions shown to myself, officers, and crew, since my arrival in the Tagus, after the unfortunate encounter with H. M. brig Primrose. It is with much pleasure

I embrace the earliest opportunity of acknowledging the obligation.

“ I am sorry the master should have omitted calling for the mail at the time appointed : it's true he was very busy collecting freight and disappointed to time.

“ I hope under these circumstances you will be pleased to pardon him. Believe me, my dear Sir, your much obliged friend and humble servant,

“ JOHN BULL.

“ To Thomas Reynolds, Esq.,

“ &c. &c.”

“ Tagus, 26th March, 1814.

“ SIR,

“ The feeling which prompted you to devote so much of your time from the pressure of public business in visiting the ship's company of the Marlborough, but the wounded men in particular, I consider as not honourable only to humanity, but shows a goodness of heart that claims the warmest veneration. We have now removed them on board again, and, although at rather too early a time, yet the promising appearances which they have already experienced might have been counterbalanced more by leaving them, contrary to their earnest wishes of getting home, than any inconvenience that might arise from the voyage.

“ Give me leave to assure you that nothing but indispensable attendance at the British Factory Hospital has prevented me from paying you this tribute of

respect in person. I am, Sir, with much respect and esteem, your humble and most obedient servant,

“ J. MONTEATH.

“ To Thomas Reynolds, Esq.,

“ &c. &c., Lisbon.”

At length, in the month of August, 1814, having advised with his family, my father considered he should best promote his future interests by returning to England, and there urging in person the fulfilment of the promises made to him; the altered situation of affairs in Lisbon likewise influenced his determination; the departure of the British army had already reduced the revenue of his office full seventy-five per cent. from what it had previously been; so that in point of pecuniary interest it was no longer worth consideration. The British Minister also, with whom he had formed an interest, was gone; the admiral, the staff, the commissariat, and all the naval and military persons of note, were gone, or about to depart; so that, in fact, the society to be in future expected consisted of the natives, who were also much diminished by the establishment of the Government in the Brazils, and the merchants, few of whom ever were intimates of the family, four-fifths of them being merely corresponding agents to houses established in England, and not only of low manners, but, what was worse, of the most violent and ignorant jacobinical principles; he therefore solicited his immediate recall, and a gentleman named Trevanion was appointed his successor in September, 1814.]

Mr. Stanhope thus writes to him on this occasion :—

“ Foreign Post-office, August 22nd, 1814.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I have been favoured with your letter of the first instant, enclosing bills of exchange on the Treasury and Coutts, 30 days' sight, which when paid shall be carried to your credit as usual. I regret to learn your intention of returning to England, as I shall necessarily lose in you a most regular and punctual man in business, and without whom nothing can have gone on so well. I have strongly recommended Mr. Trevanion to follow the mode you adopted from your commencement, by which not any irregularities occurred, and the accounts most readily balanced. As you are, I understand, to stay a short time in Lisbon after his arrival, you will, I trust, instruct him in keeping the accounts. He seems very desirous of doing what will be approved, and therefore I hope Mr. T. will find no difficulty.

“ I shall be glad to see you upon your arrival, and to thank you for the obliging attention you have shown to my concerns.

“ I am, dear Sir, &c. &c.

“ A. STANHOPE.

“To Thomas Reynolds, Esq.,

“ &c. &c.”

Mr. Commissary General Rawlings, who frequently visited at my father's house in Lisbon, introduced Mr. Trevanion with the following letter :—

“White Waltham, Bucks, 7th August, 1814.

“DEAR SIR,

“Your successor, Mr. Trevanion, is a very particular friend of mine, and has requested me to introduce him to you. I am perfectly satisfied that there will need no solicitation to induce you to assist him as far as you can, to enable him to commence the duties of an appointment of which he is at present perfectly unacquainted, and you will confer on me a very considerable obligation by any attentions you can show him on his arrival at Lisbon.

“Believe me, my dear Sir,

“very truly your obedient

“PHILIP RAWLINGS.

“To Thomas Reynolds, Esq., &c.”

At length Mr. Trevanion arrived, and in September, 1814, my father embarked with my mother, my brother, and my two sisters, for Falmouth, in the packet the *Duke of Kent*, Captain Catesworth, but, as the captain had stayed in England the last voyage, the vessel was then commanded by his sailing-master, Mr. Tilly. We were then at war with America, whose privateers infested all the seas between their coasts and Europe. The *Kent* was off the Bay of Biscay, when she was attacked by one of them, named the *True-blooded Yankee*, of 22 guns, and one 48-pounder mounted on a swivel-frame amidships, and 80 men. She ran alongside to the windward at the distance of a good musket-shot, and poured in a broadside, quickly followed by her 48-pounder. The *Kent* returned her

fire, and kept up the action for fifty minutes, when a shot from one of the Kent's guns brought down her foremast, and forced her to lie to to refit. Mr. Tilly pursued his course and ran safely into Falmouth. The damage sustained by the Kent was next to nothing: it blew a smart breeze, and, as the American was on the windward side, and both vessels were running six or seven knots an-hour at the time, her gunwale was in general too low to reach the Kent; her shot struck the water, or, when she rose to the sea, they went right over her; her large gun alone did some damage, and cut the rigging a good deal, as it was loaded with grape-shot. After the action my father gave the packet's crew twenty guineas to drink the king's health.

They stayed one night at Falmouth, and then set off for London, where they arrived in October, 1814.

On his arrival, my father received the following letter from Mr. Freeling, delivered to him *officially* :

“ General Post-office, October 17th, 1814.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ In congratulating you on your safe arrival in England, I must again express my sincere regret at your relinquishment of the agency at Lisbon.

“ My Lord the Postmaster General directs me to express his sense of the able, zealous, and praiseworthy manner in which the duties of that office were executed by you, and it is very gratifying to me, both as an officer and as an individual, to advert to the numerous instances this Board found it a duty to express its

marked approbation of your proceedings. Believe me, dear Sir, with esteem and regard, yours most faithfully,

“ F. FREELING, Secretary.

“ To Thomas Reynolds, Esq., &c.”

He soon afterwards received the following letter from his successor :

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I was highly gratified by your kind letter, and particularly so to hear of the safe arrival of yourself and family after your engagement, and the great difficulties you had to encounter. I assure you the inquiries after you all have been very great, and every one here much pleased to hear of your safe arrival in England, and, I trust, long before this in London. I hope I may not be considered very selfish when I say how much I envy you. I have received a most kind letter from my good friend Mr. Freeling, and the packet I expect this week will I trust bring out my successor, so as to enable me to sail next week in the Ernest, as I am not more eager to remain here than when you quitted it. I have found out no new charms, but, on the contrary, detest the place more and more every day. I hope you are before this comfortably settled, and I beg my very best compliments to the ladies and my brother collegian ;*

“ Being ever, my dear Sir,

“ Very sincerely yours,

“ J. TREVANION.”

* My brother and Mr. Trevanion were both of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Mr. Trevanion expected to have found a fine establishment like the London Post-office, where he would only have had to preside, and enjoy the profits ; but when he found all the principal business must be performed by his own hand, and guided by his own head, and that he never could reckon upon an hour's absence, he speedily became disgusted, and was succeeded by a Mr. Allan, a barrister, who did not remain longer, and was again succeeded by some other person.

At length, all my father's accounts being audited, an order of the Board was issued to Mr. Mortlock, the Post-office treasurer, to pay him the balance then due to him, to the amount of 1192*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.*, being the final settlement of all his Post-office accounts : and the bonds of security which he had given to that department were delivered up to him, and he had the gratification of knowing that no man could have quitted a public department more respected, esteemed, and regretted by all his superiors and companions in office.

Finding much difficulty and shuffling delay in the fulfilment of the promise made to him of a consulship, he abandoned the pursuit altogether, and hired a small house in Welbeck-street, furnished it, and settled with his family, hoping to pass the remainder of his days in peace. At that time my two sisters were just coming into society ; my brother was at the Middle Temple, preparing himself for the bar, and I was on the foundation of the Charter-house. My father had economised in Lisbon, so as to pay off all he owed on his leaving England ; he had a small balance of about 1500*l.* at his

banker's, but nine hundred a-year could not suffice to make the proper allowance for the education of his children, and the genteel support of his family, then coming into the world, having been all our lives accustomed to ease and comfort and good society, so that he found himself once more gradually sinking into pecuniary difficulties.

In the autumn of 1815 an event occurred which added not a little to his embarrassments, while, in a worldly point of view, it marred my prospects in life. I was at that time in the 6th, or head form, at the Charter-house. In a few months I was to have gone to the University to pursue my studies for the church. I was then nearly eighteen years of age, when the Rev. John Russel, then head-master of the school, who, from the moment I entered the school, showed a marked dislike to me, implicated me, with three others, in a charge of which I was entirely innocent; and on my refusing, in conjunction with my companions, to submit to the indecent and degrading punishment of the birch—a punishment never before heard of for young men of the 6th form—he sent me home, while he took the others to his own house, and, after treating them with breakfast, and using every persuasion, he induced them to submit to a punishment which, though out of all rule, they richly deserved, while my father was compelled to remove me to avoid my expulsion. Mr. Russel had not the power to expel me; but he called a meeting of the Governors for the purpose of laying his charges against me before them, declaring at the same

time that, unless I were expelled, he could not be answerable for the discipline of the school. When it thus became a personal contest between the master and the pupil, there could be no doubt of the ultimate decision of the Governors. They had, doubtless, unbounded confidence in the man whom they had selected; and the discipline of a public school required that the master's authority should be maintained, right or wrong; but all those who know anything of Mr. Russel's management of the school are now obliged to admit that it had been far better if he had then resigned his post: for, in the course of a very few years, the reputation which the Charter-house had so justly earned under Dr. Raine was remembered only as a tradition; and from nearly four hundred boys, who were once at that school, the numbers had diminished to less than one hundred before Mr. Russel gave it up.

I have yet in my possession all the correspondence that took place at the time, and I have no hesitation in saying that Mr. Russel could not have supported the charges made before any impartial jury; but, as it had been made a trial of power between Mr. Russel and me, my father withdrew me before the meeting was held. More than twenty years have elapsed since that event, and I can look back with calmness upon all the circumstances. As for the loss of my prospects of a living by entering the church, however I may have regretted them at the time, I have for many years rejoiced that it was so ordained; for my opinion has long been, that he who embraces that sacred profession

for the sake of lucre turns the house of God into a den of thieves, and perils his own soul, and the souls of those who are committed to his care, and for whom he must render an awful account. Therefore, I say, I sincerely rejoice that I was prevented at that time from following a profession for which I was certainly not fitted. But Mr. Russel did not consider this; he did me a cruel injury; he rendered all the education of many years in a great degree useless to me; he blighted all my prospects in life as far as he could; and, instead of acting, as was his duty, a father's part towards me, he showed himself my worst and bitterest foe; and this for no just cause, and I verily believe for no other cause than that I was the son of Mr. Reynolds. He is himself a father, and I hope that he never has felt, and never may feel, the pain he caused my father to feel at seeing his son's future hopes blasted in the bud.

CHAPTER XVI.

Mr. Reynolds is appointed consul at Iceland !—Distress in England—Riots—Watson and others arrested at Spa-fields—Mr. Reynolds is summoned on the grand jury—Parliamentary privilege—Sir Francis Burdett slanders Mr. Reynolds in Parliament—He is seconded by General Montague Mathew and Mr. Henry Grey Bennet—Mr. Reynolds demands to be heard at the bar of the house—His interview with Mr. Planta—Mr. Reynolds's friends recommend him to be silent, and to rely upon Lord Castlereagh—Valuable testimonials to Mr. Reynolds's character and conduct—Sir Francis Burdett's libellous attack—Lord Castlereagh's lame defence—The Attorney-General's speech—The faction defeated in the House of Lords—Mr. James Perry's unprincipled conduct—Mr. Reynolds proceeds to Copenhagen—He goes to Iceland—Returns by Copenhagen to London—Mr. Planta's letter by desire of Lord Castlereagh—Mr. Reynolds's reply—He offers his resignation—Singular conversation with Mr. Edward Cooke—His resignation is not accepted—He prepares to go to the Continent.

1816—1818.

My father had long given up all hopes of employment, and had even ceased to remind Ministers of their oft-repeated promises, when one morning, in January, 1817, Mr. Edward Cooke sent for him, and, after some hesitation, as if he was ashamed of what he was going to say, told him that Lord Castlereagh had long been anxious to settle him in a consulship ; that hitherto he had not had it in his power to do so ; but that now, if my father felt disposed to accept it, he was desired to offer him that of ICELAND!!! which, he was sorry to

say, was the only one then at his disposal; that the salary was 300*l.* a-year; the residence to be at Copenhagen, or *anywhere else he pleased in the Danish dominions*; that he need not visit Iceland more than once, and that at the time he should find most convenient. My father at first felt disposed to refuse this offer, but, being desirous of consulting some friends, he begged to be allowed a day or two to consider the matter. On the following day Mr. Cooke again sent for him, and urged him very strongly to accept the place, promising him faithfully that his sons should be forwarded in life, and telling him that at that moment nothing else could be had. He said that he might return to England whenever he pleased; and that, in case a residence in Denmark should not suit him, he should have permission to reside in any other part of the Continent he pleased, and always be furnished with the best and most effectual introductions. These promises, and the advice of his friends, induced him to accept the appointment.

My father could not understand at first what could have induced Lord Castlereagh to offer him this extraordinary place, and even to urge him, through Mr. Cooke, to accept it, accompanying it with new promises for the future; but he was not long in discovering the motives.

A political storm had been raised in England, which daily and hourly increased, and was chiefly levelled at Lord Castlereagh. The circumstances looked like those which preceded the Irish troubles; and the mea-

asures adopted to repress the disturbance were assimilated by the disaffected to those employed formerly in Ireland. The transactions of 1798 seemed likely to be brought into discussion; my father's name might be introduced; it was therefore deemed expedient to remove him from the kingdom, at least for a time.

The very long war in Europe had raised the price of every article in England to an enormous degree, and had encouraged the most extravagant speculations, as well in land as in every description of produce. The various occupations arising from these adventures, as well as those derived from the Dock-yards, the Navy, the Commissariat, and the immense increasing armies, gave abundant and lucrative employment to multitudes, who, from their long continuance, became in a manner educated in them, and considered them as secure and certain lines of advancement.

The sudden, unexpected, and almost magical destruction of the French power in Russia, replaced the family of the Bourbons on the throne of France. War ceased, and with it ended all these speculations and hopes. Produce suddenly fell in price; the high rents of land could no longer be paid; our manufacturers were met by competitors in every part of the world; tens of thousands of individuals were thrown out of employ, as well from private establishments as from the Navy, the Army, and all the other public departments, increasing the poor-rates beyond all example. These and other taxes were still to be regularly paid. Thousands, who had long considered and felt

themselves in ease and affluence, were at once reduced to want: the distress was horrible and universal. It came on so suddenly—so unexpectedly—that Ministers could not possibly provide against it in time. All that could be done was to apply those gradual remedies which alone can be lasting;—poor consolation to those who were actually famishing! The discontent became great and general; the miserable and starving poor were urged on by unprincipled demagogues, who did not fail to avail themselves of this crisis to instil into the minds of the people the belief that Ministers alone were the cause of all this distress. Riots took place, and conspiracies and seditious assemblies were held all over the kingdom. Every measure of authority which was found necessary to put down this rising spirit was attributed to Lord Castlereagh, and likened to those which took place in Ireland during and previous to the Rebellion. If a country magistrate, or peace-officer, in his zeal to support the laws, or driven by the necessity of the moment, overstepped his authority, it was directly attributed to Lord Castlereagh's orders. If a seditious meeting was prevented or suppressed, however legally, it was represented as an act of Lord Castlereagh's tyranny.

In the height of the ferment occasioned by these circumstances, Watson and four others were arrested at a meeting at Spa-fields, and indicted for high-treason before the grand-jury of the county of Middlesex. My father was summoned on that occasion, as he had frequently been before, and as his property and social po-

sition entitled him to be. True bills were found against Watson and three others ; the bill against the fourth was ignored. Sir Francis Burdett and his friends took a particular interest in the fate of these men, as indeed they had done in the fate of every disturber of the public peace, for many years. My father's having been summoned on that grand-jury, was therefore a great crime in the opinion of that gentleman and his party. But Sir Francis Burdett had other peculiar and personal feelings of anger towards my father, exclusive of the general feeling common to all the faction.

When Mr. Arthur O'Connor, after his acquittal at Maidstone, had been sent a prisoner to Dublin on another charge of treason, Sir Francis Burdett thought proper to panegyrisé him in the British House of Commons as his dear and intimate friend, a man of approved loyalty, and a true friend to his country, and, in short, as one professing no other than his own political principles ; and to throw the most severe censures on Ministers for his detention, pledging himself for his constitutional virtue and loyalty.

“ One person,” said he, “ now immured within the walls of a dungeon in Dublin Castle, I have the honour of being connected with (for honour, as well as happiness, I shall ever esteem it) by the strongest ties of friendship and affection, whom I know to be as incapable of treason to his country—(good God ! that treason to Ireland and the name of O'Connor should be preposterously coupled together !)—as he is capable of everything that is great, generous, and noble, for his country's

good : a man whose whole conduct delineates the exact line of rectitude and honour ; whose private virtues equal—they cannot surpass—the integrity of his public conduct ; who is indeed endowed with every good, as well as every great qualification, and of whom it may fairly be said, *Nil non laudandum aut dixit, aut sensit, aut fecit*. When such men become the object of fear and hatred to Government, it is not difficult to ascertain the nature of that Government.”

Now it happened that, shortly afterwards, the part my father took forced Mr. O'Connor to make a full confession, before the Secret Committee of the Irish Parliament in Dublin, laying open the whole of the plot, and the intrigues and intentions of the rebels, of whom he acknowledged himself to be a chief ; thus exposing his friend Burdett to the censure and ridicule of the whole empire. Sir Francis had never forgotten nor forgiven that blow upon his reputation ; revenge still rankled in his breast ; he now hoped to gratify it, and, at the same time, by vilifying my father's character, to throw doubts on the obloquy which O'Connor's affair had attached to his own, and to discredit the Ministry by which my father was befriended. But, prudent in his anger, he determined to attack him under shelter of his privilege in Parliament, where my father could not be present, and where he would be precluded not only from defence, but from all personal satisfaction.

Here let me pause a moment, and consider what is the nature and what the effects of this extraordinary

privilege of Parliament, whence did it arise, and how does it contribute to the public good.

That each branch of the legislature should have the power to assert its *own separate* authority, is essential, not only to its individual existence, but to that of the whole legislature, of which it is a component part. As, however, in a free state, the governed recognise no power in the governor which in its exercise does not promote their own good, it becomes a matter of fair investigation, how far that particular privilege, which secures personal irresponsibility to the members of Parliament, conduces to the benefit, the safety, or the honour of the subject. If we look merely at the origin of this privilege, and the ground upon which it was first claimed by the House of Commons, there is an end of all doubt and difficulty; the public good was clearly and indisputably secured, when the representatives of the people demanded from the Crown that no influence from that quarter should be permitted to obstruct or paralyse the independent discharge of their duty, and the entire freedom of debate in their sittings. But surely this privilege of late years has been extended far beyond its primitive boundary, and has been made to embrace an exercise of free discussion which is anything but beneficial to the subject. At all events, the altered circumstances in which debates in Parliament are now carried on, by the publicity of reporting them, has given that privilege a character and an operation very different from that which it possessed before that

practice prevailed. A century ago, when no authentic accounts reached the public of what was said in Parliament, and when, by the standing orders of the House of Commons, no persons were presumed, and scarcely any allowed, to be present, except the members themselves, it might very properly be a breach of privilege for any one, not a member, to arraign or question what he could not be supposed to know anything of, without a violation of the standing order; but now, when it is palpably a mere fiction to talk of the privacy of parliamentary discussion, or to pretend that what is said in the house is not known to the public, within a few hours after it is uttered, it becomes a question of great and general interest to consider whether this privilege should now be allowed, or how far the principle of it should be carried. To bring forward my meaning more clearly I will suppose a case.

I will suppose a member of the House of Commons, acting from what he considers a conscientious feeling of public duty, to arraign the conduct of some individual, not a member of the House. In the course of his speech I will suppose him to indulge in the most acrimonious language, to impute the most dishonourable motives, to bestow the most degrading censures, and, in short, to shape his attack in such a manner as to make every drop of blood that flows through the veins of a gentleman boil with indignation. The character thus impressed upon the question by the first speaker is subsequently sustained without further inquiry by others of his party, and the individual, absent and unheard, is treated like an ac-

knowledge and convicted criminal. This debate goes forth to the world, with all the weight and authority derived from the assembly in which it has taken place, and the person thus attacked finds himself suddenly dragged before the tribunal of public opinion, with the brand of infamy stamped upon his forehead. It must be admitted that this is a power of portentous nature, even upon the supposition that the party is rightfully accused, for it carries with it penal consequences, of no common kind, without the intervention of law, or of any of those safeguards and securities which the constitution has provided. Here a British subject is morally condemned and driven from society, without any form of trial, without being heard in his defence, and stripped, in fact, of every legal right and privilege, which, under any other circumstances, he would be entitled to claim. Is this for the benefit of the subject? I ask, is this for the public good? But suppose the whole proceedings, or a considerable part, to be founded in error; suppose the member who brought it forward to have been misinformed; suppose him to have neglected a due and, cautious previous inquiry, and, in the eagerness of his zeal, to have assumed for facts things which had no existence; or, through malice, hatred, party spirit, envy, or any other motive, to have wilfully thrown a false colouring over his entire charge; then, see what monstrous injustice will have been committed, what an irreparable injury will have been inflicted! and now mark how the privilege heightens the injustice and increases the injury. The innocent individual, thus tra-

duced and branded, can turn nowhere for redress, can have no appeal for justice, can have no means to vindicate his honour, or to assert the purity of his character. If he dares to arraign his accuser, if he presumes to question his motives, if he ventures to throw back the foul aspersions with those feelings of indignation which they merit, he commits a breach of privilege, and suffers all the weight of the displeasure and consequent punishment of the House of Commons, urged against him by his defamers, who now become judges in their own cause. If, in defiance of this displeasure, he still ventures to appeal to the public, the debate which has gone forth has already prepossessed the public mind; and what conviction can the explanation of an humble and unknown individual carry, when opposed to the House of Commons? He finds one portion of the public press unwilling to embark in the dangerous and unequal contest, another is devoted to the party of his calumniators, and the little remnant which could be prevailed upon to publish his justification would probably be that which, being engaged by no party, is least in general circulation. Would such an appeal clear his fame? Alas! no; the stain so imprinted is never to be effaced. Supposing, then, this parliamentary privilege should be employed in the way I have described, will any one contend it is either consistent with justice, or for the benefit of the subject? and, if not, the absence of these essential qualities at once determines its character.

But, to return from this digression. I remind my reader, though it is perhaps unnecessary, that no evidence

on the part of the accused person is ever presented to a grand-jury, whose only duty consists in examining whether or not the evidence laid before them, against *the person accused, is sufficient to authorise his being* put on his trial ; so that in fact their decision, if against him, has nothing whatever to do with his real guilt or innocence, but is merely pronouncing that the evidences *against* him are of such a nature as to render it proper, as well for the ends of public justice as in justice to himself, that the decision of a jury should be had upon the case, when the evidence in his favour as well as that against him can be heard, and when he can meet his accusers face to face. It must, therefore, be evident that my father's position with regard to Lord Castlereagh could not have had any possible connexion with his duties as a grand-juror ; yet, Sir Francis Burdett seized this circumstance to make it be believed that he, the supposed friend and protégé of Lord Castlereagh, had been placed on the grand-jury to forward some political views of his lordship, by influencing the jurors to find the bills against the rioters ; thus accusing Lord Castlereagh, the returning officer, and my father, of the most improbable and unprofitable corruption, and aspersing the entire grand-jury as being both corrupt and weak, in allowing him to guide their decision *, not

* The following are the names of the grand jury:—

George Read, Esq., Foreman.

Henry Hare Townshend

John Wright

Patrick Byrne

Peter Campbell

Robert Wilkinson

John Jackson

Bartholomew Barnewall

William Palmer

considering the fact that many of that very grand-jury were his own, well-known partisans : among the number was Mr. Henry Hare Townshend, and one Mr. Patrick Byrne, son of that Mr. Byrne who in 1792 and 1793 figured in the Catholic Convention in Dublin. But, in fact, not only my father did not seek to be placed on that particular jury, but, the circumstance of his being just then ordered to the Continent, in the consular department, rendered it particularly inconvenient to him ; and he had, therefore, used every means, and had even produced his commission in court, to obtain his exemption, but could not succeed. The vestry of the great parish of Saint Mary-le-bone consisted of about one hundred and fifty gentlemen, who had made an arrangement with the high sheriff of Middlesex to furnish the grand-juries for the county out of their own body every third year, provided none of them were called upon during the two intervening years,—an arrangement which was very burthensome to those

Nathaniel Snell

Life Dacre

Charles Pole

Thomas Reynolds

John Webb Weston

William Plenderleath

Henry Usborne

John Cotton

William Walter

George Dorien

William Evans

Robert Stone

George Knox

George Musgrove, Esqrs.

I can hardly fancy a greater insult to these honourable, upright, and well-known gentlemen, than the gratuitous assumption of Sir Francis Burdett, that their decision, upon which several of their fellow-subjects were tried for their lives, upon charges of the highest description known to the law, could have been improperly influenced by the presence of so humble an individual as my father.

who were not of the vestry, and who were consequently summoned during the two intervening years. The year 1817 was not a *vestry* year, and jurors being scarce, occasioned the difficulty in granting my father's demand to be excused. The four men who were sent to trial were acquitted. After their acquittal, which seemed to be the signal, Sir Francis Burdett began his attack on ministers, by charging them with having packed a grand-jury, and having placed my father on it, in order to find the bills against Watson and his associates, insinuating that my father had received the consulship of Iceland as the price of his having prevailed on the grand-jury to find the bill, contrary to law and evidence.

Now, had Sir Francis Burdett acted with common honesty, before he made an assertion of this nature, he would have moved for a return from the Foreign-office of the date of my father's appointment, when he would have found that my father was named consul in the beginning of January, and received his salary from the 5th of that month, when the Spa-fields meeting was not even thought of ; so that Lord Castlereagh must have been a prophet to have been able to fortell that such a meeting would be called, that high treason would be planned or acted there, and that therefore it was necessary to bribe a man beforehand who should become a grand-juror, and favour his views by persuading the other jurors to find true bills. Of all the absurdities that ever obtained credit among civilised men, this was the most absurd ; and yet it was believed by many, in

consequence of Sir Francis Burdett's assertions. But Sir Francis did not stop here ; he made the most virulent attacks upon my father's character and conduct, quoting the speeches of Curran and other barristers employed in defence of the rebels in 1798, as if they were statements of real facts, or made with any other view than that of working on the feelings of jurors to benefit the prisoners ; and reading partial extracts from the evidence of several *of the witnesses, altogether suppressing the circumstances* which appeared on the trials, and which rendered those witnesses utterly unworthy of belief. He was well aware that his representation, whether true or false, of what had happened in another kingdom, nineteen years previously, and which was little, if at all, known in England, would be eagerly received and believed without any inquiry, especially if it reflected upon the ministry, by a population in a state of agitation, nearly as violent as was that of Ireland in 1798 ; and he hoped that, if Lord Castlereagh should come forward in my father's defence, or if my father himself, indignant at the foul aspersions thrown on him, should commit any act which would enable Sir Francis Burdett to have him brought as a violator of the privilege of Parliament to the bar of the House of Commons, that, through his examination, or in his Lordship's defence of him, he (Sir Francis) might renew the debates on the unhappy transactions of those days, when party animosity, revenge, bigotry, and a thousand other bad passions, usurped the place of law and reason, and gave rise to many acts which would be considered with horror in

less troublesome times, and which were long since buried in silence. Thus he hoped to keep alive the agitation among the people at large, so as to embarrass the ministers, and render them detestable and odious to the nation.

The extraordinary ferment which at that moment agitated the whole kingdom made the subject too interesting to be neglected by the periodical press, which consequently teemed with every species of calumny and abuse. Not one in ten thousand of the people of England knew anything of Irish affairs in 1798. The most violent parts of Curran's speeches, genuine or forged, together with party versions of all the trials, were now published as reports of the speeches of Burdett in the House of Commons, and my father was made to appear a very monster, who, having already reduced Ireland to slavery and dependence on an abandoned ministry, was now to be employed to act the same part in England. The people were led to expect a renewal of the scenes of Titus Oates, Judge Jeffries, and the Star Chamber: men's minds were worked up to such a degree, that I am convinced thousands of persons in London, who never saw, and never knew, anything of my father, were ready to tear him to pieces; and, lest they might go astray in attacking him, Sir Francis Burdett announced his residence, No. 34, Welbeck-street, publicly in the House of Commons. General Montague Matthew, brother of the Earl of Llandaff, the *honourable* member for Tipperary in Ireland, joined in this attack on my father, as did another equally ho-

notable member, Henry Grey Bennet, brother to Lord Tankerville.

Anxious to clear his character, my father wrote to Lord Castlereagh to demand a hearing at the bar of the House of Commons, assuring him that, unless he were allowed to vindicate himself in the house, he would appeal, through the public press, to the people of England; and he enclosed a copy of his Lordship's letter of the year 1808, already inserted in these memoirs. In consequence of that letter, on the 15th of June he received a note from Mr. Joseph Planta, the present member for Hastings, who was then his Lordship's private secretary, requesting to see him, when the following conversation took place, which I copy from notes made by my father at the time.

"Mr. Reynolds," said Mr. Planta, "Lord Castlereagh desires me to say that, with every desire to attend to your wishes, and to promote your interests, he never can consent to anything which may tend to the canvassing matters so long set at rest: he has an invincible objection to bringing the matter, in any shape, before the house, or the public; and his decided advice to you is to let the matter rest, and not to publish anything whatever, but to treat General Matthew with silent contempt. And as to your own private friends, you have Lord Castlereagh's letter, which must be considered conclusive. General Matthew is too well known to injure you with any one who is not of his own disposition, and the very violence of the attack defeats itself."

"Do you mean to say, Sir," said my father, "that

Lord Castlereagh objects to my publishing a flat denial of Matthew's words?"

"You will best comply with Lord Castlereagh's advice," replied Mr. Planta, "by refraining from every publication, or even notice of General Matthew."

"But," said my father, "may I not publish Lord Castlereagh's letter?"

"I am already going beyond Lord Castlereagh's words," said Mr. Planta, "but, for my own part, judging from all the circumstances, I cannot feel that you can publish his letter, but certainly you may hand it among your friends, and use it as meant, for your own justification."

"I must say," rejoined my father, "that I feel it as a piece of unheard-of cruelty, to be thus obliged to lie under such unmerited slander, for, however *I* may despise General Matthew, I cannot be indifferent to the opinion of society."

"I cannot consider," replied Mr. Planta, "General Matthew's abuse as carrying any weight in or out of the house: Lord Castlereagh cannot of course restrain your actions, but he has fully and finally declared his own intentions, and has given his decided opinion on what should be your line of conduct. But I am again going out of my way;—you will distinguish, Mr. Reynolds, between Lord Castlereagh's message and my comments."

Mr. Cooke gave the same advice; he did not speak to my father as from Lord Castlereagh, but from himself alone, and he argued the point in a more open and

candid manner ; He said, that in the agitated state of the public mind, at that moment, the effect of any publication would be, not to vindicate my father, but to increase the violence of the people, and to enable the faction more effectually to embarrass the ministers, by mixing the old affairs of Ireland with the recent subjects of discontent, and that, in doing so, they would naturally endeavour to blacken my father as much as possible, in order to throw the greater odium on ministers, by whom, they would assert, he was in constant employment ; that thus he would not be likely to gain any benefit on the one part, while, on the other, he would inevitably incur the total loss of all his ministerial friends ; whereas, by remaining quiet, and treating the faction with silent contempt, he would most effectually blunt the edge of their attack, and acquire an additional claim to the active support of his ministerial friends ; and that, in more peaceable and less prejudiced times, he or his family could not fail to find abundant opportunities to set the affair in its true light.

My father gave Mr. Cooke very full explanations respecting every subject on which he was attacked. He took notes of the details, and promised to communicate them to Lord Castlereagh, that he might be fully prepared for his effectual defence in Parliament, as it was understood Sir Francis Burdett was to bring forward a specific motion on the subject. My father also had an interview with Lord Castlereagh, in which he represented matters in very strong colours. Lord Castlereagh seemed fully to enter into all his feelings,

and promised his cordial support in Parliament; he desired him to make out a statement, short and clear, of all such matters as he wished to have introduced in his defence. He assured him he would not omit anything he desired touching his private character and conduct; and that he would attend to all his suggestions respecting public matters, as far as his own view of the subject would permit.

Was it possible to doubt such assurances? Lord Chichester, Mr. Stanhope, and all my father's ministerial friends, strongly advised him to rely upon Lord Castlereagh, and be silent; and, unfortunately, he was induced to follow their advice.

Having thus, as he thought, prepared for his defence in the House, my father was not inactive among his acquaintances out of doors. He sent a copy of Lord Castlereagh's letter to Lords Camden, Chichester, Carleton, and Limerick, and requested their candid opinions of his character and conduct. From Lord Camden he received the following reply.

“To Thomas Reynolds, Esq.

“Friday, 20th June, 1817.

“SIR,

“You will probably have read in the newspapers, that upon some allusion having been made to you when I was not present in the House of Lords last night, I took the earliest opportunity after my return to state the sense I entertained, and which I have not ceased to entertain, of the eminent services you rendered to

your country, by voluntarily coming forward with such information as enabled the then Government of Ireland to check, and finally to crush, one of the most formidable plots with which any country had ever to contend ; that you gave that information in the most useful and *most disinterested* manner ; that, although attempts were made to invalidate your testimony, it was amply confirmed by the conviction of some, and the confession of the remainder, of those who were engaged in the conspiracy.

“The surest proof of the opinion entertained of the manner in which you conducted yourself upon that and subsequent occasions is, that those who best knew your conduct have endeavoured to show their good opinion of you ; Lord Chichester, Lord Castlereagh, and myself, having each rendered you services *on account of that opinion*.

“I trust the public declaration I made last night in my place will be more useful to you than this testimony ; but you are quite at liberty to show this letter to your friends.

“ I am, Sir,

“ With great truth,

“ Your obedient humble servant,

“ CAMDEN.”

Lord Chichester, who, as Mr. Pelham, was Secretary of State in Ireland in 1798, and who was then Postmaster-General, wrote as follows :

“Stratton-street, 20th June, 1817.

“SIR,

“I have been favoured with your letter of the 19th, enclosing one from Lord Castlereagh, dated the 1st of August, 1808. I am ready to confirm every syllable expressed in that letter; and, as the assistance you rendered to the State began during the time I had the honour of being Secretary of State in Lord Camden’s administration, I may venture to say that I can estimate those services more accurately than any other person; and it was upon the fullest conviction of your merits that I felt peculiar satisfaction in having the opportunity of placing you at Lisbon. Your conduct there justified the appointment in the opinion of every person with whom I have had any communication at that important post.

“I enter into all your feelings, and those of your family, at what has appeared in the newspapers; but it is only the pretended report of speeches supposed to be made in Parliament, which in all probability were never made in the terms used in the paper. I cannot help therefore recommending, in the strongest manner, *your silent submission* to this unprovoked and unmerited censure, conscious of enjoying the continuance of the good opinion of those who are the best qualified to judge of your merits and character.

“I am, with much regard,

“Very sincerely yours,

“CHICHESTER.”

Lord Carleton's answer was :

“ George-street, Hanover-square,
“ 22nd June, 1817.

“ SIR,

“ From the opportunities which were afforded to me in 1798 for forming a judgment of your character, and your conduct in assisting His Majesty's Government towards putting down the dangerous Rebellion which took place at that period, I formed a judgment, that in the whole of your conduct, and in the communications which were carried on on your part with the Government, and in the evidence which you gave upon the prosecutions of the rebels, you had behaved with *consistency, integrity, honour, ability, and disinterestedness.*

“ Whenever I have heard any allusions respecting you as to the transactions of that period, I have expressed my sentiments in favour of your character and conduct, as an act of justice to a person who had done most valuable service to the State ; and I will now add, that my sentiments are in perfect unison with those which are expressed in Lord Castlereagh's letter.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your faithful and obdient servant,

“ CARLETON.”

It will be remembered that this nobleman was Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland, and was at the head of the commission of Oyer and Terminer appointed for the trial of the rebels in 1798 ; so that no

man could pronounce so decided a judgment respecting my father's conduct, and the attempts made to deteriorate his character on that occasion, as his Lordship. He was one of the representative Peers of Ireland, and had resided many years in England when he wrote this letter in 1817. It cannot be supposed that the Lord Chief Justice, retired in a great measure from the business of the world, would sully his latter days by averring an untruth in support of the character of any person, and, least of all, of one who was not worthy. The honourable and independent character maintained by this venerable nobleman during a long and a public life must render this letter an indubitable and conclusive testimony.

Lord Limerick's reply was the more gratifying, as it showed that his Lordship was one of the few who had not hesitated to remember former obligations, and to appear in defence of an injured man.

“ Mansfield-street, 20th June, 1817.

“ SIR,

“ On my return from the House of Lords late last night, I found your letter of yesterday's date.

“ The proceedings in the House of Lords yesterday will show you that I did not wait for your letter to do justice to your character. I stated there what I have no difficulty of repeating: that, from *the best and most disinterested* motives, you had laid open a conspiracy that would have shaken the kingdom to its foundations,

and that, IF you have been rewarded for your services, you richly deserve it.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your most obedient humble servant,

“ LIMERICK.”

As soon as these letters were received my father had some hundred copies of them, together with that of Lord Castlereagh, printed and distributed among all persons with whom he or his family were acquainted, in England, Ireland, Portugal, or elsewhere; and he was particularly careful to send them to every member of Parliament with whom he had any acquaintance. In reply he received numerous letters of acknowledgment; I here insert a few. One from Lieutenant-General Sir Alured Clarke, as follows:—

“ Sir Alured Clarke presents his compliments to Mrs. Reynolds, and has the honour to acknowledge his receipt of her note, with the highly respectable testimonials of Mr. Reynolds’s character and conduct that accompanied it; which, if anything had been wanting to raise Mr. Reynolds higher in Sir Alured’s estimation, would have been completely effected by the disinterested—and to Mr. Reynolds honourable—statements of the truly noble persons who have voluntarily done him that justice which the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed called for.

“ Mansfield-street, June 26th, 1817.”

Another, from Sir Francis Freeling, is as follows :

“ General Post-office, 26th June, 1817.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ The course which your friends have recommended is evidently right, and I am sure you will not deviate from it. We live in a world of calumny, and I have come in for my share.

“ It must be gratifying to you and to your whole family, to see how largely this circumstance has brought out the feelings of those friends who can best appreciate your conduct and character.

“ Lord Chichester’s testimony is of the highest importance, from his peculiar knowledge of all that occurred at the time. He is incapable of praising any individual who does not merit his approbation; and, next to the approval of my own mind, I would rather have his Lordship’s good opinion than that of any other human being. Believe, me, my dear Sir,

“ Always yours faithfully,

“ F. FREELING.

“ My best compliments to Mrs. and Miss Reynolds.

“ Thomas Reynolds, Esq.,

“ Welbeck-street.”

A third was from the Honourable Arthur Stanhope of the Post-office :

“ Foreign Post-office, July 2nd, 1817.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I feel sorry you should have had the trouble to call upon me at the very moment that I had quitted the

office, for I should have been glad to express to you all I think upon the subject of the recent and truly malevolent attack made against your character ; there is, however, some consolation, and which you will, no doubt, well know how to appreciate : that it comes from those vile and unprincipled men who never consider the magnitude of the harm they do, if it will, in any shape, answer the diabolical purposes they may have in view ; and therefore, as a sensible man, and one who can conscientiously acquit himself of having done what his duty required of him, I recommend your silence, and to treat the whole proceedings with silent contempt. It is like everything in this country, a nine days' wonder ; and in a short time the subject will never be named, or perhaps even thought of. If you should pass this way any day before three o'clock, I shall be always glad to see you.

“ I remain, dear Sir,

“ Your very obedient and obliged servant,

“ A. STANHOPE.

“ Thomas Reynolds, Esq.,

“ Welbeck-street.”

Sir Coutts Trotter wrote as follows :—

“ Leamington, near Warwick, 26th June, 1817.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I feel how difficult it would be for you *to treat in the manner your friends recommend* the cruel observations made on your name in Parliament ; and I thank you for including me in the number of those who you

wished should see the honourable testimonials I have just read. To have his conduct misrepresented or misunderstood, is the price every man must expect to pay who is eminently useful in defeating the designs of dangerous men, but it is not the less distressing; and in your particular case I think the cruelty is increased by the events being so remote, that I should have hoped they were remembered only by the great services you rendered to the country. Assuring you of a continuance of my esteem, I remain, dear Sir,

“ Your most obedient and faithful servant,

“ COUTTS TROTTER.

“ Thomas Reynolds, Esq.,

“ 34, Welbeck-street.”

I shall here only add three or four more letters taken at random from a very voluminous correspondence.

“ 22, Dorset-street, June 24th, 1817.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I feel much flattered by your sending me the testimonials of the uprightness of your character, vouched by such high and noble characters; not that they were at all necessary to stamp my opinion of you.

“ I think you are much obliged to the foul-mouthed and scandalous set who so basely attacked you, for it has been the means of publicly justifying your conduct and reputation. The most sceptical mind can *now* have no doubts as to the purity of your motives for acting as you did in 1798; nor can I think but the very fellows who have attacked your motives must in their

hearts (if they have any) applaud you. But in short, dear Reynolds, it is the present Ministry their shafts are aimed at more than you. May they recoil on themselves. I think them only fit members for Spa-fields. With kind compliments to Mrs. Reynolds, believe me, my dear, Sir,

“ Yours truly,

“ ARTHUR LANGFORD COOKE.

“ Thomas Reynolds, Esq.,

“ 34, Welbeck-street.”

This letter enclosed the following pithy note from a friend of his :—

“ MY DEAR COOKE,

“ I return you Mr. Reynolds's papers with thanks. I think they completely exculpate him, and throw disgrace and infamy upon his accusers.

“ Yours, dear Cooke, very truly,

“ 26th June, 1817.”

“ R. HANNAY.

“ Pimlico Lodge, 20th June, 1817.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I thank you for your letter enclosing Lord Castle-reagh's opinion of your conduct at the period alluded to, which, when known, must, I think, be a sufficient reply to the attacks of your political opponents. Mrs. Elliot joins in best compliments, and I remain,

“ Dear Sir, yours faithfully,

“ JOHN ELLIOT.

“ Thomas Reynolds, Esq.,

“ London.”

“ 3, South Molton-street, 25th June, 1817.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ Many thanks for your enclosures, which have gratified me much in reading, as well as the opportunity it affords me to show them to my friends.

“ I have been confined to my room for these three weeks, which prevented me the pleasure of paying my respects to Mrs. Reynolds and the young ladies, to whom I beg my best regards ; and am, dear Sir,

“ Your obedient servant,

“ B. C. DOYLE.

“ To Thomas Reynolds, Esq.,

“ 34, Welbeck Street.”

“ June 24th, 1817.

“ MY DEAR MADAM,

“ I have been much gratified in perusal of the papers you did me the favour to send, and shall retain them at present to show to my friends, some of whom I have already shown them to. For my own part I continue the same opinion, *many many years* ago formed, and given forth whenever I heard the subject they relate to touched upon, that Mr. Reynolds was justifiable in every point of view, and conscientiously so, in assisting the saving of bloodshed and destruction to our unfortunate country.

- “ Believe me, with best compliments at home, and every good wish,

“ Yours truly,

“ E. BOOTH.

“ To Mrs. Reynolds,

“ 34, Welbeck Street.”

Mr. Lawrence, of the General Post-office, wrote for a second copy of the letters, in the terms following :—

“ Secretary’s Office, Gen. Post-office,
10th July, 1817.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ A friend of mine was so delighted with the important and gratifying papers which you were so kind to leave here that he would insist on having them, to be enabled to show how inhumanly you had been treated, should the subject ever be mentioned in his presence. I am thus left without a copy of what I am anxious to keep by me; and I hope I do not presume too much in requesting you will have the goodness to favour me with another of your sets of printed papers.

“ Believe me, dear Sir,

“ Your faithful and obedient servant,

“ THOMAS LAWRENCE.

“ To Thomas Reynolds, Esq.,

“ 34, Welbeck Street.”

My brother had at that time the honour of being received as a welcome guest at the houses of the Countess of Besborough, the Honourable W. Lamb (now Lord Melbourne), and other connexions of those families. He therefore sent copies of the printed letters to Mr. Lamb, through Lady Caroline Lamb. Her Ladyship wrote to him in reply; the following is an extract from her letter. “ I have shown Mr. Lamb your letters; pray do not vex yourself about the matter; no one believes ill of another for any length of time.

I hope you are well: you have not called lately—remember I am always out now after three.”

A few days afterwards another letter was received, which was gratifying to my father, and indeed to all the family, beyond all the rest; it came unlooked for from an old friend. The writer, Mr. Furlong, was a solicitor of the greatest eminence in Ireland, where he was universally known, and as universally respected. He had been the legal adviser of my grandfather until his death; he then acted in the same capacity for my grandmother, and lastly for my father. On reading in the newspapers an account of Sir Francis Burdett's proceedings, he hastened to cheer and uphold the son of his deceased friends by the following letter:—

“Aungier-street, Dublin, 8th July, 1817.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I find that not only your political but your moral character has of late been violently attacked in the English newspapers. I have known you upwards of thirty years, and have considered you as a man of honour and integrity, a dutiful son, an affectionate husband, a kind father, and a sincere friend.

“About 1798 our acquaintance was suspended, in consequence of the opposite line of political conduct which you had for some time adopted; but, when you made the communications to Government that saved Ireland from becoming a general scene of massacre and blood, our intimacy was renewed, and from that period I have considered you to be a zealous, loyal, and faithful sub-

ject, deserving the confidence of Government, and both able and willing to render your country important services. Traitors and the abettors of treason, and all the enemies of social order, are your enemies—hate you, and call you an informer, because they fear informers; but you have the happiness to have among the great number of your friends noblemen and gentlemen of the highest rank and character, who have borne ample testimony of their respect and esteem for you; and whilst you honestly and zealously serve your king and country you may despise the malice and the calumny of the excitors of sedition and the leaders of faction.

“ I am, my dear Sir,

“ Your very sincere friend,

“ WILLIAM FURLONG.

“ To Thomas Reynolds, Esq., &c. &c.”

While transcribing this valuable and friendly letter, which I well remember coming like a messenger of gladness and consolation to an afflicted family, and cheering their hearts with its warmth when all around was cold, I cannot refrain from expressing my feelings to two of the sons of that inestimable man, Mr. William Furlong and Mr. John Smith Furlong. These two gentlemen came forward, like their father, unexpectedly, without being called upon; and, esteeming their father's friendship for my father as an inheritance, tendered theirs to his widow and family at a moment when it was attempted to deprive them of that miserable pittance which had been given by a *grateful* country in ex-

change for fortune lost, for kindred abandoned, for peace destroyed, for reputation attacked, and, I may add, for life certainly shortened in her service. Such conduct has awakened in my bosom feelings long since forgotten, and has convinced me that friendship is something more than a name: it is a source of sincere pleasure to me to be enabled thus publicly to record my gratitude and thanks.

But I must quit this pleasing theme, to return again to the disgusting subjects which still remain to be narrated; like the traveller on the sandy desert, who quits with regret the oasis where he had refreshed his faint and weary limbs, to go forward in the parched and sandy plain once more.

My father, being thus, as he thought, fully prepared triumphantly to repel any and every attack that Sir Francis Burdett could bring against him, waited from day to day for the promised motion; but day after day passed, and it was not brought forward. Lord Castlereagh was therefore equally silent: at last the 11th of July arrived, which was to be the last day of the session of Parliament, and my father's anxiety to have his fame cleared even at that eleventh hour led him on that morning to Lord Castlereagh's house, in St. James's Square, where he saw his Lordship. The interview took place in the presence of Mr. Planta, when his Lordship said, he had been long fully prepared for his defence, and only waited the attack; that Sir Francis had completely deceived him by promising to bring the matter forward *substantively*; that he greatly regretted that

he had not fully replied to him on the first mention of the matter, but that he would not let that night pass without fully justifying my father to the house and to the country: with this repeated assurance my father withdrew, and waited the event with confidence.

If abuse of my father was to redeem Sir Francis Burdett's pledge, he, that night, very amply redeemed it; for in a speech of considerable length, impugning the conduct of ministers, he lavished on him the most virulent abuse, quoting everything which had been said in 1798 by Curran in defence of the United Irishmen, as if they had been proved and authenticated facts, detailing the whole in a speech as replete with foul barefaced calumny, as Curran had done nineteen years before. He had also the effrontery to say, that my father had acted improperly in Lisbon, by exacting fees to which he was not entitled; alluding to the case of his relative, Colonel Jones, already detailed.*

Here then the moment was at length arrived in which Lord Castlereagh was to fulfil his many promises, and here was also the opportunity for General Palmer to repay his debt of gratitude. The latter was silent altogether; the former, after replying to the general charges brought against ministers, is reported in Hansard's Parliamentary Debates to have said that, "The next topic on this head, referred to the appointment of Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Manners: on the first he had never heard anything to his prejudice; he was originally engaged in

* See chap. xiv. pp. 314—333.

treason, and by his discovery made the atonement. It was inconsistent with the honour of Government to allow such a man to wander through the country, at a moment too, when these frequent denunciations could not contribute to his personal safety. (*Alluding to my father's recent appointment as Consul in Denmark.*) He (Lord Castlereagh) was not Secretary of State when Mr. Reynolds came forward; it was to Mr. Pelham (Lord Chichester) that the disclosures were made. Three juries had believed his testimony, and the Irish House of Commons, where there were men active enough to expose it if possible, considered it unimpeached. That in the estimation of the honourable Baronet, such a man appeared in a degraded light was, without imputing improper motives, not unnatural, from the habits of personal association that honourable Baronet had with persons to whom Mr. Reynolds could have no recommendation; the prejudice was not however general. Lord Chichester had thought so well of his character as to appoint him to the respectable situation of Postmaster-General at Lisbon. The corporation of the city of Dublin did not think him unworthy, and gave him the freedom of their body. The Guild of Merchants, a body of men far above ministerial influence or corruption, who voted him the honour of their guild, did not concur in these feelings of reprobation. His testimony was not alone unimpeached, but was supported by the confessions of the traitors themselves. Arthur O'Connor, and 251 other traitors confessed their guilt, and upheld the truth of his statement. Certainly, Mr. Reynolds de-

served well of his country, instead of being so stigmatised as an enemy. The accounts from Lord Chichester fully justified what he now said, and thereby fully wiped off every insinuation brought against him by the honourable Baronet. *In truth, Mr. Reynolds has only been known to Government by the services he had rendered to his country.* Mr. Reynolds was also a gentleman in considerable respectable circumstances, and therefore by no means likely to prostitute his talents for the public service. He considered him therefore as an individual assigned unjustly to persecution, and in truth an object against whom the most unfounded insinuations had been brought."

Now I beg leave to ask, was this the manly defence my father deserved from Lord Castlereagh, who, though not actually appointed Irish Secretary, was acting as such from the first hour of my father's arrest and committal to Dublin Castle, when his direct communications with Government commenced, and consequently was well acquainted with all the facts I have here related, and who on that very forenoon had the interview and made the protestations I have mentioned above? Lord Castlereagh owed much to my father, more perhaps than he would have been willing to acknowledge; and though I am willing to believe his Lordship wished to serve and defend him, yet it is evident that he did not wish to do so, either at his own risk or expense; and in this instance he allowed my father's fame to be attacked, and the peace of all his family to be ruined, rather than open an enquiry into the affairs of Ireland

during his Secretaryship, which would probably have been the result of an honest defence.

Sir Francis Burdett being followed and upheld in his attack, the Attorney-General, Sir Samuel Shepherd, replied; and though my father had no claim on that gentleman, nor even the least acquaintance with him, the few words he said were much more manly and honest than the laboured phrases of Lord Castlereagh. He said,—“He was quite unacquainted with Mr. Reynolds, but thought he had been unfairly dealt by. When Mr. Reynolds was a witness on the trials alluded to in Ireland, all the attacks now made on him were made to induce the juries not to believe his testimony; but after the fullest investigation of the circumstances of the case, the veracity of Mr. Reynolds was confirmed before three different juries, and on his evidence principally the persons tried were convicted of the offences of which they were accused. Afterwards, on Mr. Reynolds’s evidence at the bar of the House of Commons, bills of attainder were agreed to. *Thus had Mr. Reynolds’s character passed through a very fiery ordeal without injury, unless the verdict of juries were not to be attended to when they convicted, but only when they acquitted the persons charged before them.** The great fault of Mr. Reynolds was his having entered into the conspiracy; but for which he afterwards made ample atonement. He (the Attorney-General) was one

* This alludes to an eulogium, which had just been pronounced on the jury which had recently acquitted Watson and the other Spa Fields rioters

of those who did not think it was criminal for a man to come forward and make atonement for a previous offence —so far from thinking such conduct a crime, he was one of those wrong-headed persons who called it a virtue. As to Mr. Reynolds's appointment on the Grand Jury, Government and the law-officers knew no more of his having been so appointed than did the honourable Baronet, and the honourable gentlemen themselves. He (the Attorney-General) now repeated that he had been well informed, that on Mr. Reynolds's being summoned on the Grand Jury, he was anxious to get rid of the burthen, and asserted that he ought to be excused on the ground of his being appointed Consul to a foreign State ; but this excuse had been refused. Mr. Reynolds was no spy of Government, he was not at all employed in Ireland, nor has he ever been employed in such a capacity in any place ; but being a man originally engaged in a traitorous conspiracy, repenting of his error, and foreseeing the horrid consequences to which it would lead, he atoned, *first by endeavouring to persuade his associates to desist from their guilty pursuits*, and finding that ineffectual, by disclosing all he knew on the subject. . If such attacks as those which had been made on Mr. Reynolds were listened to, there was no man, however honourable, who had political enemies, that might not be assailed by calumny and misstatement, to gratify their malice and revenge."

While Sir Francis Burdett was thus attacking my father in the House of Commons, one of his partisans attempted to do the like in the House of Lords ; but

there the Marquis Camden, the Earls of Chichester and Limerick, and others who were well acquainted with his conduct and private character, completely frustrated the attempt, by the noble and generous manner in which they defended a man who was unable to appear and defend himself from this truly un-English assault.

Sir Francis Burdett, in quoting partial extracts from the evidence of some of the witnesses on the trials, in 1798, if he were not guilty of the "*assertio falsi*," was guilty of the equally infamous and degrading "*suppressio veri*," to answer a political party purpose; for he well knew, from their cross examination, that those witnesses whose evidence he thus quoted had grossly perjured themselves.

The other persons who distinguished themselves in the course of these debates, by their activity in spurting their venom upon their defenceless and absent victim, were the *Honourable* General Montague Matthew, the degraded, despised, and horse-whipped betrayer of Lady Ranelagh, and the *Honourable* Henry Grey Bennet, whose practices drove him from the country, being of such a nature that I can only venture thus distantly to allude to them,—*Par nobile fratrum!*

The observations made in the course of these discussions by Mr. Brougham, and several other gentlemen, however painful they may have been to my father, were evidently called forth by the unblushing effrontery of the assertions made by men who had carefully prepared themselves by a reference to, and selection from, the documents of which they spoke,

whose character and conduct were not at that time sufficiently exposed to the public gaze to lead to the suspicion that they would willingly falsify that which they pretended to quote ; and by the timid, time-serving abandonment of my father's cause, by the man who, of all others, ought to have stood boldly forward on his behalf—by the man who, after writing the letter, dated the 1st of August, 1808 (inserted at page 250 of these memoirs), could rise in his place, and “appeal to the House whether he had passed any eulogium on Mr. Reynolds.”*

It was on the occasion of this debate that Mr. James Perry, the editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, made that monstrous display of duplicity and ingratitude which I have before related, and which must remain an indelible blot upon his reputation long after all party feelings shall have been forgotten. The future historian will place his letter in opposition to his leading article, and ask—is it indeed true that the same pen traced both? And I am much mistaken if the weapon he forged, to inflict an incurable wound upon the man to whom he acknowledged obligations, which, he said, *he knew not how to repay*, will not be found to have recoiled, and to have mortally wounded his own reputation.

When the hurry and bustle in which my father's preparations for defence had kept him were at an end, and he had time to reflect calmly on all that had taken place, he could not but see that he had been shamefully

* Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, vol. xxxv. p. 1022. }

abandoned and deceived : he had then but one course to pursue, which was, to lay his case fairly before the public ; and the greatest mistake he ever made in his public career was in keeping silence on that occasion : but, conscious of his own integrity, he was desirous of retaining the protection of Lord Castlereagh, in the hope that he would at least keep his promises with respect to my brother and me, and he considered that his silence under such provocation would be an additional claim to that protection ; he was also encouraged in this line of conduct by many of his friends, as may be seen from some of the letters I have transcribed. Thus, in his affection for his family, he suffered himself to be sacrificed ; and, satisfied with the good opinion of his numerous friends, and the approval of a good conscience, he forgot that in a few years his friends would have mostly quitted this changing scene, while his enemies would remain as virulent and as numerous as ever ; for, in this fallen world, enmity usually descends from father to son, which is very rarely the case with friendship. I was very young at the time these events took place, but I well remember how I urged him to publish his case ; nor did I ever cease to urge him till the last moment of his life ; for I had rather beg or starve than allow any consideration of fortune or place to stand in the way of his justification. If I have no other inheritance to leave to my son, I will at least leave him the unsullied name which has been the heir-loom of my family for ages ; and I know that, in this respect, my brother's sentiments coincide with mine.

As soon as my father had decided on the line of conduct he intended to pursue, he determined on proceeding to his consulship ; and accordingly on the 28th of July, 1817, he and I left London for Harwich, and proceeded by Cuxhaven and Hamburgh to Copenhagen. We were furnished with letters of introduction by Lords Castlereagh, Camden, Chichester, and Limerick, as well as by several private friends. Lord Chichester and Sir Francis Freeling sent their introductions, accompanied by the following letters, which I here insert, as they show the sentiments still entertained of my father by those at the head of the department under which he had served in Portugal ; thus affording an additional proof of the falsehood and malevolence of Sir Francis Burdett's insinuations respecting his conduct in Lisbon :—

“ Stanmer, July 8th, 1817.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I send a letter to Mr. Foster, our envoy in Denmark, according to your desire, and sincerely hope it may contribute to your passing your time pleasantly in Denmark. I am both concerned and surprised at the treatment you complain of. Surely they must be very unworthy friends, who can be influenced by anything that has passed in Parliament to your disadvantage ; among liberal men there can be but one opinion of those who brought your name forward in so unjust and unwarrantable a manner, and the way in which your cause was taken up by Lord Camden and Lord Limerick, ought

to be very gratifying to your family, and real friends, among the number of which I rank myself: sinterely wishing you health and happiness,

“ Believe me, dear Sir,

“ Yours very truly,

“ CHICHESTER.

“ To Thomas Reynolds, Esq., &c.”

It would seem that Lord Chichester did not consider Lord Castlereagh's defence of my father to call for much congratulation, as his Lordship does not allude to it at all.

“ General Post-Office, July 21st, 1817.

“ DEAR REYNOLDS,

“ I shall be much distressed if the enclosed do not answer the object for which they are written. You will recollect our last conversation. Pray keep up your spirits. Time does wonders in many cases; and the best of all consolations is, that which arises from a conviction that the shafts of malice which are aimed at us are unmerited. With every good wish, I remain yours very truly,

“ F. FREELING.”

As many misconceptions, and many wilful mis-statements have been made respecting this appointment, I shall in a few words give an account of its real value. The salary was 300*l.* a-year, the perquisites nothing. Ten pounds per quarter was withheld in the Foreign Office for fees, reducing it to 260*l.* net. The fees on

receiving the commission were 132*l.*; the fees and power of attorney to appoint a person to receive the salary at the Treasury, were 34*l.* 6*s.* 9*d.* These payments, which were to be made in advance, reduced the first year's salary to 93*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.*; the travelling to Copenhagen and thence to Iceland cost 164*l.*; so that the net salary for the two first years was 94*l.* 16*s.* 7½*d.* per annum. During the subsequent years the salary was 260*l.*

We arrived in Copenhagen on the 18th of August, and found that Mr. (now Sir Augustus) Foster, the British Minister, was absent on a tour in Italy, and that Mr. Disbrowe (now Sir Edward Cromwell Disbrowe, minister at the Hague) was *Chargé d'Affaires*: that gentleman received us with marked attention, and introduced my father to Mr. Rosencrantz, the Danish Secretary of State, to several of the nobility, and to the whole Corps Diplomatique. A few days afterwards he gave a dinner, to which he invited my father, to meet all the ministers from foreign powers then at Copenhagen. There were present the Baron de Nicolay, the Russian Minister; Count Tawast, the Swedish Minister; the Baron Maltzahn, the Prussian Minister; Mr. de Merbiz, the Saxon *Chargé d'Affaires*; Mr. de Crombrughes, the Dutch Minister; Mr. de Cabre, the French *Chargé d'Affaires*; General Steigentesch, the Austrian Minister; Mr. Ysnardi, the Spanish Minister; the Bavarian and the Neapolitan Ministers, whose names I do not remember. Besides these there were General Oxholm; Admiral Bille, and two others. All these gentle-

men invited my father soon after. These introductions led to others, and altogether we spent the winter of 1817-1818 very agreeably ; scarcely a week passed without an invitation to dine with Mr. Disbrowe, whose kindness and civilities were unvarying during the whole of our stay in Copenhagen. Society was very limited ; the greater part of the nobility lead a very retired life, mostly in the country ; merchants, except in a few cases, were not received in the highest circles : this probably arose from their not being received at court, and consequently being thrown in a great measure out of the court circle. The consuls resided at Elsinour, so that the best circles consisted of the Corps Diplomatique, such of the nobility as held offices about the king, and consequently resided in Copenhagen, and a few military men, whose incomes would allow them to join that circle. I here speak of society as it was from 1818 to 1823 ; what it is now I know not. It was usual at that time to pay visits in the evenings, and during that winter I was in the habit of going to one or other of the persons I have named, either alone or with my father, when not otherwise engaged, and I always remained for the evening wherever I found the most agreeable party. I mention these facts to show the footing on which we were received in Copenhagen, because I have been informed that a gentleman who was formerly in business at Copenhagen, and who now resides in the North of England, has thought fit to say that my father was not noticed, or, at least, only by those who were desired to notice him by Lord Castlereagh. Now that gentleman,

whom I do not wish to designate more particularly, could not know anything about us, or our reception, of his own knowledge, because he was never seen in the circles of which I have spoken ; and though I would not have it supposed, that I at all participate in the absurd feeling which operates to exclude mercantile men from the court circles in Denmark, yet the fact being as I have stated, and the gentleman in question having been a merchant, and by no means remarkable either [for his talents, or the extent of his operations, I never had the pleasure of meeting him, except at the houses of one or two merchants to whom we had brought introductions, and from whom we met with the greatest civility and attentions.

In the autumn of 1817, the 300th anniversary of the Reformation was celebrated with great pomp at Copenhagen : the Royal Family went in state to the principal church, attended by all their court. A place was specially set apart for the Diplomatic Corps, and on that occasion Mr. Disbrowe took my father in his own carriage, who otherwise could not have gone at all, as consuls were not received at court any more than merchants, so that no places were reserved for them. Now this public attention, on Mr. Disbrowe's part, looked like something more than the constrained civilities which would be the result of a ministerial order.

On the 25th of October the King signed my father's exequatur, and after passing a very agreeable winter, we left Copenhagen for Iceland on the 26th of May, 1818, intending first to spend a few days at Elsineur,

with Mr. Charles Fenwick, British Consul-general. We remained at his house nine days, for he would not hear of our going to an hotel. As we were sitting down to dinner on the 4th of June, with a large party, to commemorate the birth-day of his Majesty George the Third, the vessel which was to convey us to Iceland came in sight, with a fair wind, and we were obliged to hurry on board; but when we went down to our little cabin, we found that our excellent friend had sent a dinner on board before us, with a few bottles of his best wines, and I am persuaded that our friends on shore, in the midst of their festivity, did not drink the King's health with more cordiality than we did on board our little vessel.

During our stay in Copenhagen we had made the acquaintance of a Mr. Hodson, a young gentleman of highly respectable connexions in the north of England, whose mercantile affairs had led him to visit Iceland two years previously, and having left some considerable balances unsettled in the hands of the Government of the island, which he found great difficulty in recovering, he was desirous of taking advantage of my father's going out as British consul, to reclaim his debt. He spoke the language fluently, and had acquired considerable local information, which greatly contributed to our comforts. As he kindly undertook to arrange all the matters necessary for our voyage, as well as for our accommodation in Iceland, we left everything to his management.

Our voyage on the whole was remarkable only on account of the uninterruptedly fair and favourable

weather which we enjoyed, and after an easy sail of sixteen days, we came in sight of Iceland on the 20th of June, directly south of Mount Hecla, and a more dreary unpromising picture never presented itself. As far as the eye could reach in every direction, little was to be seen but a succession of prodigious mountains covered with snow : we sought in vain for what we could fancy might be converted into a residence for man. On the sides of the nearest mountains occasional dark patches indicated the presence of summer, and the influence of the sun ; but in the interior all was white ; the eye could scarcely distinguish the outlines of the several mountains, and at length in the distance they became totally lost and undistinguishable from the whitish atmosphere by which they were surrounded. It was a fine, clear, sunny day, and the glass stood at 40° when hung on the mast on deck ; several whales, apparently of large dimensions, spouted at a distance around us, and some from twenty-five to thirty feet long dived and sported around and under our vessel. We had a very slight breeze from the west-south-west, yet the sea ran very high, and we had to beat along this coast to the windward during four days : at length, upon the fifth, we got round Cape Reikeiness, and on the morning of the 26th came to an anchor on the open beach within fifty yards of the shore at Reikiavig ; our entire passage from Elsinore being twenty-two days, which was by far the shortest which had been made that season : the distance is about twelve hundred miles.

We had been expected for some time, as orders for

my father's reception were forwarded from the Danish Government together with the mail, by the post vessel which left Copenhagen early in the spring; and being the only acknowledged consul ever known there, his arrival occasioned some sensation. Mr. Hodson, with his usual good nature, set about providing for our establishment, while we waited on the several authorities. The Governor was in Denmark, but Mr. Thorarensen, the Deputy Governor, received us with great kindness, and assurances of affording us every accommodation and assistance in his power.

We then proceeded to pay our respects to Bishop Videlin, a fine portly man, apparently about seventy-five years of age. After some general observations on the political events of Europe, of which he seemed to speak more as matters of curiosity than of interest, he assured us the people of Iceland felt the deepest gratitude to England for the very timely succours she had sent to them at the period when the war prevented the arrival of supplies from Denmark, a feeling, of which, he told us, we should experience the benefit, in the kindness and friendship of the inhabitants during our stay. He spoke with the utmost feeling of respect, esteem, and gratitude, of Sir Joseph Banks, owing to whose humane intercession with the British Government, those supplies were permitted to be forwarded.

On leaving the Bishop, we met our friend Mr. Hodson, who had been most actively and effectually employed in arranging matters for our accommodation. There being no possibility of hiring a lodging, the

Deputy-Governor allotted the town-house for our use, on the condition that we should give it up for the use of the Magistrates at the sessions, as the King's Court was always held in it ; but that only occupied a day or two every two months. The chief constable and his wife had apartments in the house, and engaged their services to us ; the wife to be our cook, and the constable our butler. We also hired two stout active young men to attend to our horses, and to accompany us in our excursions. Our bedding and effects were soon landed, and deposited in our new abode ; and by setting all hands at work, we were soon completely and comfortably settled. We had a good sleeping-room, in which were our three beds ; the justice's chamber was our sitting and dining-room : it was furnished with a few benches and chairs, and a long table stood in the centre, and a small one at the side ; to these Mrs. Constable, as I call her, added a large screen, and a few other matters, which gave us a considerable appearance of comfort.

When we retired to our beds on the first night of our landing, it would be difficult to convey any idea of the sad and dreary appearance of the place, as seen from our windows. It was about half-past eleven o'clock, but it was not dark : a clear grey twilight showed us all the objects which surrounded us. Darkness and night lead to repose, and unless roused by some unusual cause, we expect to find all nature then at rest ; but in day-light, when we are accustomed to activity and life, to see a village of thirty or forty houses

on the one hand, and a plain covered with tents on the other (for it was the market season), in both of which all was still and silent as the grave,—to hear no sound indicating the existence of any living being, gives an indescribable feeling of loneliness, which was greatly heightened by the bleak and dreary scenery around.

We remained about a fortnight in Reikiavik, when we set out on a tour through the southern parts of the island. It would be foreign to the plan of this work to give any account of the curious and interesting country we passed through. I shall merely observe, that though during the six weeks we were absent from Reikiavik, the weather was almost always unfavourable, yet the novelty of the scene, the continual state of excitement in which we were kept, and the good spirits of all our little party, rendered the tour very agreeable, and makes me often look back on that tour with feelings of unmingled pleasure, as one of the happiest periods of my life.

The restrictions imposed on all foreign trade by the Danish Government amounted to a complete prohibition, and as my father found that his presence in Ireland was altogether useless, we again embarked on Sunday, the 9th of August, on board the *Tobias Galliasse*, of seventy tons burden, and after a most prosperous voyage of only seventeen days, landed once more at Copenhagen on the 26th of the same month.

On our arrival in Denmark, my father found letters waiting for him, which rendered it essential for his private affairs that he should visit England as soon as

possible : he therefore wrote to Lord Castlereagh, giving him an official account of his visit to Iceland, and requesting leave of absence, as was agreed upon when he accepted the appointment ; his letter was dated August 29th. After a delay of about three weeks, he received a letter from Mr. Bidwell, of the Foreign Office, telling him that his letter had been sent to Lord Castlereagh, at Aix-la-Chapelle ; but as the necessity for his return was most urgent, and his stay in Denmark was purely voluntary, he left Copenhagen at the end of September, and arrived in London on the 6th of October. When he arrived, finding Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Planta still at Aix-la-Chapelle, he wrote to Mr. Planta as follows :—

“ SIR,

“ London, 8th October, 1818.

“ Having reported my proceedings in Iceland to Mr. Foster, at Copenhagen, which his Excellency has transmitted, and to which I beg to refer, I found my presence could not be necessary for some months ; and my agent, Mr. Chambers, having lately died in Dublin, it became necessary for me to return to London, to instruct and empower another person to act for me, previous to the November term, or the consequences would be most disastrous to my family. I therefore wrote on the subject to Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Bidwell in reply acquainted me that my letter had been forwarded to Aix-la-Chapelle ; meantime I received such urgent letters to hasten my return, as the term so quickly

approached, that I have ventured to anticipate Lord Castlereagh's approbation, and have returned to London, awaiting his Lordship's further orders. I trust my doing so will meet with his Lordship's indulgence.

"I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

"THOMAS REYNOLDS.

"To J. Planta, Esq.,

"Aix-la-Chapelle."

To this letter he received the following reply:—

"Aix-la-Chapelle, 29th October, 1818.

"SIR,

"Your letters of the 29th of August and of the 8th of October, have been received, and laid before Lord Castlereagh. In reply to that of the 8th instant, in which you report your arrival in England, I am directed by his Lordship to acquaint you with his extreme surprise and marked displeasure that you should have quitted your public duties for your private affairs without his previous sanction. His Lordship desires that upon receipt of this letter, you will lose no time in returning to Copenhagen, from whence you will take the earliest opportunity of proceeding to your post in Iceland; and in the event of your delaying to follow these instructions, I am to acquaint you that Lord Castlereagh will feel it necessary to take further steps upon the subject.

"I am, Sir, &c. &c.

"JOSEPH PLANTA.

"To Mr. Consul Reynolds."

In consequence of this reprimand and order, my father wrote as follows to Lord Castlereagh at Aix-la-Chapelle.

“ London, 7th, Nov. 1818.

“ MY LORD,

“ I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Planta's letter of the 29th of October, in which is expressed your Lordship's extreme surprise and marked displeasure at my having quitted my public duties for my private affairs, without your Lordship's previous sanction. In proof that I have not done so, I beg to remind your Lordship of the declaration made to me by Mr. Edward Cooke, the Under Secretary of State, on my appointment to a situation far inferior to that which I had a right to expect, from the repeated promises I had received from several of his Majesty's Ministers, in consequence of the services they considered I had rendered to his Majesty's Government, namely, that I should go to Iceland for one summer only; leaving it at my option to go in the year 1817 or 1818; and the proceedings in Parliament alone caused me to go to Denmark last year, and to pass the winter out of England previous to my going to Iceland. I assure your Lordship that no consideration of private interest ever did, or could, induce me to desert my public duty, in pursuance of which in the present instance, at an expense far exceeding my salary, and at very imminent peril I took a voyage of 3000 miles in a small Danish vessel, of little more than fifty tons, in order to repair

to a post with which I was well aware that no foreign trade could be carried on, and having reported my proceedings to his Majesty's Minister at Copenhagen, I could not conceive my stay there at all necessary, or forming any part of my duty. My private affairs required my presence in London. As, therefore, your Lordship does not approve of the arrangements made by Mr. Cooke on my appointment, I beg your Lordship will prevail on his Royal Highness the Prince Regent graciously to accept of my resignation of a Consulship where it is impossible for me to reside, and where, I regret to say, *there is no duty to perform*.

“ I beg leave to acquaint your Lordship, that Mr. Planta's letter was sent to my house late last night, by a common messenger, open, so that doubtless it had been read by many before it reached my hands.

“ I have the honour to remain, &c. &c.

“ THOMAS REYNOLDS.

“ To the Rt. Hon.

“ Lord Viscount Castlereagh, K. G.

“ &c. &c. &c.”

My father sent copies of this correspondence to Lords Camden and Chichester, accompanied with the following letter:—

“ London, 7th November, 1818.

“ MY LORD,

“ Anxious to preserve the favourable opinion with which your Lordship has hitherto honoured me, I take the liberty of submitting the enclosed letters, and of

acquainting your Lordship with the circumstances which led to them.

“ When I accepted the appointment of consul for Iceland, it was in the full understanding that I should go out to that island only for one summer, and it was left to my option to go out in the summer of the year 1817, or in that of 1818. The proceedings in Parliament caused me to go out immediately, and I accordingly repaired to Denmark to obtain my exequatur; and thence in the spring of the present year I sailed for Reikiavik, where I found the duties and restrictions precluded all foreign commerce; that no British vessels had been there for two years, nor were any likely to go there under the existing decrees. Having passed the summer in Iceland, I returned to Denmark, and reported my proceedings through his Majesty’s Envoy at that Court. Having thus performed my part of the arrangement, and finding my presence in Denmark unnecessary, I wrote to Lord Castlereagh on the subject of my return, but his Lordship had already gone to the Continent; and I was unwilling to intrude my private affairs any further on his Lordship’s attention. Those affairs required my immediate presence in England. I also thought it probable that his Lordship might wish to question me respecting the trade to Iceland; I therefore returned to London; and on the day of my arrival I reported myself to Lord Castlereagh. In reply I have received the enclosed letter from Mr. Planta, which your Lordship will see is such as renders it impossible for me to hold the situation longer than

until Lord Castlereagh can prevail on his Royal Highness the Prince Regent to accept my resignation. I also trust your Lordship will feel I have not in any manner neglected or deserted my duties, or contravened the original terms on which I accepted the office. The charge of having deserted my public duties is the more injurious to me, as in pursuit of it I not only expended double the amount of my salary, but also underwent severe hardships; among others was that of making two perilous voyages, of nearly 3000 miles, to those inhospitable regions in a Danish galliase, of little more than fifty tons. If I have trespassed too freely in this statement, I trust your Lordship will attribute it to my very great anxiety to retain those favourable sentiments which it is my pride to have acquired, and which have so greatly assisted in enabling me to support the persecutions which my attachment to his Majesty's Government have brought on me.

“ I have the honour to be

“ Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

“ THOMAS REYNOLDS.

“ P. S.—I beg leave to refer to Mr. E. Cooke for the particulars of my agreement, and to acquaint your Lordship that the letter of Mr. Planta came to my house late last night, by a common messenger, open, as if it was intended to publish its contents, thus adding to the injury, as doubtless the letter was read by many before it reached me.”

One would naturally suppose that the result of my

father's letter to Lord Castlereagh would be his retirement from office ; but, instead of being dismissed, he received a message from Mr. Cooke, requesting to see him. He accordingly called on him on the 6th December, at his house in Park-lane. Mr. Cooke entered at once on the subject by saying, " Well, Mr. Reynolds, you have been in Iceland ? " My father thereupon detailed to him the circumstances relative to his going, his stay, his return, and his correspondence with Lord Castlereagh, dwelling very positively on the indignity shown him in Mr. Planta's letter.

" I know all that," said Mr. Cooke, " you wrote to Lord Camden on it, and he showed me your letter. You are a madman ; you are an imprudent man ; I tell you so to your face ; and you always were an imprudent man, and never will be otherwise. You act from passion : don't you know a man ought never to act from passion ? A man who acts so should seek out the steadiest man of all his acquaintance, and never act at all without his advice. I tell you, you are considered as a passionate, imprudent man."

" Mr. Cooke," said my father, " if I was not so, perhaps Ireland would not at this day be a part of the British empire. You did not think me passionate or imprudent in 1798."

" I tell you again," said Mr. Cooke, " you are mad : well, and what do you intend to do now ? "

" Really," said my father, " I intend to do nothing at all ; I suppose Lord Castlereagh on his return will settle my resignation."

“Pooh, pooh !” said he, “I’ll see Mr. Planta and talk to him about it; he will be here very soon, and I’ll speak to him, and hear what they mean to do. Call on me a week or so after he returns; you had no business to come back unless you had a reply to your first letter.”

“You know,” replied my father, “that I took the appointment on the express condition of living where I pleased, and my affairs being urgent, and Lord Castlereagh being absent, I returned as a matter of course.”

“True,” continued Mr. Cooke; “but Lord Castlereagh knows you to be a very imprudent man, and he would certainly hesitate at allowing you to be in London, where your imprudence would give advantage to your enemies to bring you into trouble, and him too. He does not like you to be in London; I tell you fairly, *that is the feeling.*”

“Lord Castlereagh well knew,” said my father, “that I had no intention to stop in London, which is much too expensive for my income; my business home was to settle my affairs, and to take my family to the Continent, but not to Iceland, or even to Denmark. If affairs should render it necessary to order me to Iceland, I should never have objected to go there in the summer, but a residence was out of all question.”

“Ay,” said Mr. Cooke, “to go whenever you were ordered—ay, ay; well, I’ll see Mr. Planta, and tell him you chiefly wish for this employment to give you consideration and protection where you may choose to reside.”

“Mr. Cooke,” replied my father, “I told you I wished *employment* for that reason, and I accepted of *this one*, because you told me you then had no other, but that I should have another as soon as possible : now for myself I don’t want any other, but I do require proper appointments for my two sons, as you promised ; and pray let it now be clearly understood, that, in case I continue to hold this consulship, I expect to be treated with attention and consideration by the British ambassadors wherever I settle, and that I still hold Government bound to provide for my two sons.”

“I tell you again,” said Mr. Cooke, “I’ll see them on it.”

“Then, Mr. Cooke,” added my father, “if, after you have seen them, I am to hold this office, I shall consider it is upon that decided understanding.”*

I think it must be evident, from this very singular conversation, that Lord Castlereagh was desirous of keeping my father silent, and my father, unfortunately for himself, was too much disposed to believe all the promises and protestations he received. He did not then see that they were only afraid that he would resign his place, and thus rid himself of all trammels. Had he done so then, it had been much better for all his family ; but he still hoped that sooner or later justice would be done to him, and he was unwilling to break with those from whom he had a right to expect it ; besides,

This conversation is copied from a note taken by my father at the time.

just at that time many circumstances combined to render England a disagreeable residence for him. He had met with a severe disappointment in consequence of the depreciation of West India property, as he had a considerable interest in Jamaica, and London was become far too expensive for his revenue, and in the country places he feared he would be too much exposed to malevolence. Lord Castlereagh was unpopular to an extraordinary degree: the events of 1817 caused my father to be considered as his protégé, and the friends of the united Irishmen eagerly sought all occasions to visit him with that vengeance from which Lord Castlereagh was protected by his exalted situation. Every injury done to my father was considered as a blow given to Lord Castlereagh; although I hope it is evident from these memoirs, that up to this period my father never had received any favour from him, or enjoyed any of his confidence. Indeed he never sought either; his services were afforded to his country, and it was from the Government generally, not from any individual minister, that he looked for the reparation of his losses and privations, and for protection and consideration; and, if he called on any individuals more particularly, it was because those persons had witnessed his conduct, were intimately acquainted with his motives, knew his losses, and when at the head of affairs had promised him reparation and protection in the name of his king and country. Lord Castlereagh happened to be one of these, and the one who, from the period of my father's services,

had in a great degree, by means of those services, risen to power, until at length he became one of the rulers and chief ministers of the British empire.

Influenced by those considerations, my father had resolved to fix his future residence on the Continent, where at least his conduct would be viewed by itself, and not weighed in a scale already overloaded by Lord Castlereagh's unpopularity; at the same time, he was desirous of holding his situation as consul, which would give him a right to the attentions of our foreign ministers, and bring him consideration from all foreign courts and individuals. In pursuance of these considerations, on a subsequent interview with Mr. Cooke, he agreed to retain his consulship, and, for the sake of appearances, to go out to Copenhagen in the first instance, reminding him, however, of his terms, "as to future provision for his sons, countenance and protection to his family, and, after a short residence at Copenhagen, that he should be at liberty to reside where he pleased on the Continent." Mr. Cooke gave decided assurances on those heads, and on the last subject he repeated that no objection ever was or would be made to my father's residence anywhere he pleased; but that he should not quit Copenhagen without *the form* of asking leave, which he assured him would not be refused or delayed; and as to Iceland, he never should be required to go out there again.

Thus this extraordinary affair was settled, and my father hastened all his preparations to bid adieu to England for ever.

CHAPTER XVII.

Mr. Reynolds goes with his family to Copenhagen—And thence to Paris—Account of the three swindlers, Harvey, Irwine, and Holland—Mr. Reynolds meets Colonel Witherington in Paris—Colonel Witherington's marriage—Its results—He dies of cholera—Mr. Reynolds's youngest son named consul for Florida—He repairs to Paris—Lord Castlereagh's death—Mr. Canning refuses to ratify the appointment, and abolishes the Icelandic consulship—Thomas Warren insults Mr. Reynolds's eldest son, who challenges him—They fight—Second insult offered by Warren—He is again challenged, but refuses to fight—His violent conduct—He is ordered to quit Paris—He kills an Englishman in a public house—His trial and condemnation—Mr. Reynolds's letters to Lords Chichester and Camden—Mr. Reynolds's eldest son receives an appointment under the Stamp-office.

1819—1827.

EARLY in May, 1819, my father and mother, and my two sisters, left London for Denmark: my wife and I went with them. We arrived at Elsineur after a voyage of sixteen days, and, having remained a few days with Mr. and Mrs. Fenwick, we proceeded to Copenhagen. The British envoy, Mr. Foster, and his lady, paid us every possible attention, as did the Danish minister of state, Mr. de Rosencrantz, and all the society in which we had mixed the previous winter, and on the whole the time passed agreeably and quietly.

My father remained in Copenhagen till the beginning of 1820, when he considered it time to settle him-

self in a more genial climate, and, having had a severe attack of rheumatic gout, he availed himself of that circumstance, and wrote to Lord Castlereagh on the 22nd of January, for leave of absence: in reply he received the following letter:—

“ Foreign-office, March 24th, 1820.

“ SIR,

“ I have received and laid before Lord Castlereagh your letter of the 22nd of January, 1820, requesting, on account of the precarious state of your health, that you might have leave of absence to go to a southern climate; and I have the satisfaction to acquaint you that Lord Castlereagh accedes to your request of leave of absence for six months from this date, after the expiration of which period Lord Castlereagh desires me to express his expectation that you will be found at your post, having in the interim left Mr. Thomas Reynolds, Jun., in charge of the consular affairs.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your obedient humble servant,

“ JOSEPH PLANTA.

“ To Thomas Reynolds, Esq.,

“ &c. &c.”

This was all my father desired; it gave him leave for himself, and officially authorised my appointment as vice-consul, thereby giving me an official character in Denmark, where my wife's family, who were Danes, resided. It was also, in appearance at least, the first step towards the fulfilment of the promises made of

providing for me ; and as to my father's return in six months, we knew that was all a mere farce, and intended as a cover for Lord Castlereagh's own responsibility, in case he should ever be attacked for allowing a consul to remain so distant from his post. My father therefore communicated my nomination to the British envoy, and to all the Danish authorities ; and on Tuesday, the 2nd of May, he embarked with my mother and sisters for Kiel, thence passed through Hamburg, Bremen, Munster, Maestricht, Liege, and Givet, and, entering France by Mesières, he arrived in Paris on the 20th of May, 1820, after a very delightful journey.

Though, from the marked attentions my father received in Copenhagen from Mr. Foster, and the circle in which he moved, he was not attacked or insulted during his stay in that country, yet there were many of the friends of the United Irishmen residing there. Copenhagen, Hamburg, and some cities in Norway and Sweden, were the asylums chosen by many of the lower class of the Irish rebels of 1798, such as working shopkeepers, who could not hope to make their way in more advanced societies. Of these a few have made themselves remarkably notorious. One of them, who had been a Belfast preacher of sedition, fled to Sweden, and set up as a tanner near Christianstad, in South Gothland, where he earned a scanty subsistence, until an event occurred which placed a large sum of money in his possession ; and he now makes a considerable figure. During the war with England a British ship arrived at Christianstad, laden with West India pro-

duce, under American colours, and having American papers. The Irish refugee alluded to above acted at that time as a police spy, and, having some suspicion that all was not correct, he made acquaintance with the owner of the ship, and invited him to dinner. In the course of the evening his suspicions were strengthened: he redoubled his demonstrations of friendship, and prevailed on his guest to stop entirely with him for a few days, while his papers were passing the custom-house, and while he was making his sales, &c. During that time he gained his secret, and instantly denounced him to the police. The ship and cargo were confiscated, and the informer got half the produce as the price of his treachery. This man wore Napper Tandy's uniform on all occasions of dress, and took great delight in giving himself out as a prime mover of the rebellion; although, in truth, he was only known to his parish in Belfast, where he made himself remarkable for his violence and ignorance.

Three other individuals from Ireland also infested these countries: their names were Harvey, John Irwine, and William Holland. These men came to Copenhagen just after my father had quitted it with his family for France, and got into the good graces of the Irish runaways and their partisans who were settled there, by their abuse of my father. They cut great figures, had horses, equipages, &c., and gave themselves out as Irishmen of high consequence. They drew freely on the first bankers in Dublin, and their

new friends in Copenhagen as freely cashed their bills to the amount of some thousands, or, by endorsing them, caused them to pass on *Change*; but these worthy patriots departed before accounts could be received from Dublin to notify the dishonour of the bills, and their Copenhagen friends were left in the lurch to pay for their credulity. No doubt they place this loss to my father's score, as it was for the pleasure of hearing him abused that they made acquaintance with these patriotic swindlers. After leaving Copenhagen these rogues pursued their swindling system in other countries, till towards the end of the year 1822, when they were arrested at Berlin for forgery. This I discovered from a French newspaper, "*Le Pilote*," of the 16th of January, 1823, in which, under the head of Prussian news, I find the following paragraph:—"Berlin, 4 Janvier. L'instruction du procès contre les deux Irlandois, John Irwine et William Holland, a fait découvrir un genre d'escroquerie que ces individus exerçaient depuis deux ans, et qui consiste dans la fabrication de fausses lettres de change; ils en avaient déjà mis en circulation dans leurs voyages en France, en Espagne, en Hollande, en Italie, en Suisse, en Pologne, et en Allemagne. On a découvert des circulaires adressées à trente-six maisons marquantes de ces états; les deux prévenus avaient pour associé un troisième individu appelé Harvey, qui s'est sauvé en emportant des sommes considérables. Ces intriguants voyageaient en poste, et n'ont été arrêté qu'au moment de monter en voiture; la police a trouvé

sur eux beaucoup de lettres de change, et 6000 thalers en or.”* Ex uno disce omnes.

Many considerations induced my father to fix his residence at Paris. Sir Charles Stuart, who had been ambassador at Lisbon during the Peninsular war, then held the same situation in France, where my father was certain of his friendship and countenance; and, though he was aware that a great number of the Irish rebels had settled there, yet, in so large a city, it was not necessary that they should meet in society. Paris was also a cheap place, where he could very well live on his income; and for some time those expectations were fully realized. Sir Charles and Lady Elizabeth Stuart paid them all the attention they could desire, and they lived comfortably in a genteel private society, acknowledged by and corresponding with the British Ministers at home.

One of the first persons my father met with at Paris was Colonel Witherington, with whom he had had no intercourse since the year 1810, when the Colonel refused

* Berlin, January 4th. The examinations preparatory to the trial of the two Irishmen, John Irwine and William Holland, have led to the discovery of a new mode of swindling, which those two persons have been practising for two years, namely, forging bills of exchange. They have already circulated several in France, Spain, Holland, Italy, Switzerland, Poland, and Germany. Circular letters addressed to 36 good houses in those different countries have been seized. The two prisoners had a third accomplice named Harvey, who has escaped, taking with him a large sum of money. These swindlers travelled post, and were arrested just as they were stepping into a carriage. The police have found on them many bills of exchange, and 6000 thalers in gold.

to be surety for him. Soon after that period Colonel Witherington had formed a connexion with a disorderly young woman, and had established himself as a constant resident with her in her mother's house in London, in which resided also another sister. He passed his days mostly on the Stock Exchange, and his evenings in the society of his mistress and her family. He had not been always successful on 'Change, and, having contracted some debts, he turned all his property into cash, and went to Paris among the first English who visited the Continent on the Restoration. On my father's arrival in Paris, he found Colonel Witherington residing there. The Colonel was a trustee of my mother's marriage settlement, and the property on which that settlement was secured had, after much expense and difficulty, been made in part productive. Not choosing to permit Colonel Witherington to touch the produce, whatever it might amount to, my father applied for [and procured an order of Chancery for his removal, to which he assented, in consideration of being paid some 16*l.* or 18*l.*, which he said he had formerly expended on the trust. The settlement of this business led to several meetings between my father and Colonel Witherington ; and my mother was present occasionally. This intercourse at last led to a reconciliation, which my father did not discourage, as the calumnies of the Irish fugitives, who were numerous in Paris, made him desirous of showing to all his French acquaintance that, so far as related to Colonel Witherington, their calumnies were unfounded. They were therefore reconciled,

and the Colonel became again a guest at my father's table twice or thrice a-week. When Colonel Witherington quitted England, he carried off with him all such parts of the Groves's property as he could convert into cash, which, added to his own means, must have made a sum of something like 20,000*l.* sterling. On his arrival in Paris he commenced the same practice of petty gambling on the Stock Exchange as he had followed in London, and which he continued to the last, attending daily on the Bourse like a broker, from two until four o'clock. Colonel Bunbury, of the Buffs, resided with his family in Paris, and was also a constant attendant on the Exchange. The similarity of their situation and habits soon brought about an intimacy.

About this time Colonel Witherington's mistress died, and he became a very frequent guest at Colonel Bunbury's table. He there met a Miss Childe, a natural daughter of Colonel Bunbury, whose personal attractions soon caused him to forget the disparity of years, and, though he was then sixty-seven years of age, and Miss Childe only twenty-two, he offered her his hand and was accepted: this was in 1825. Mrs. Witherington was very extravagant, and, as is too often the case when men make such very unequal matches, Colonel Witherington lived just long enough to see all his property dissipated. In the autumn of 1831 he left Paris and went to Dublin, where, in the spring of 1832 he died of the cholera morbus, which was then raging.

Unwilling to interrupt this account of the unfortunate end of Colonel Witherington's history, I have passed over many matters which occurred in the mean time ; I must therefore go back a few years. From the period of my father's arrival in Paris, he continued to urge the fulfilment of the promise of a settlement for me. At length, in May, 1822, Mr. Planta wrote to my brother, and proposed that, in lieu of the Iceland consulship, I should be appointed consul at Florida : of course the offer was accepted immediately, and my brother had several communications with Mr. Planta on the subject of the salary, the place of residence, and other preliminary matters, as the situation was altogether new, Florida having just been ceded to the United States. Meantime I received a communication, desiring me to quit Copenhagen, and prepare to proceed to my new station ; and I consequently sold by public auction, at a very considerable loss, all the property I had in Denmark, as well that which I had received with my wife, as that which I had afterwards purchased. I then went, agreeably to my instructions, to Paris, where I was to await my final orders. Soon after my arrival in Paris, the King went on a tour to Scotland, and during his absence Lord Castlereagh's melancholy death took place. The Earl of Bathurst, who was then Minister for War and Colonies, received his Majesty's orders to take the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, until a successor should be named ; and after the lapse of about a month that successor was Mr. Canning, a gentleman whose political connexions differed from those of his

predecessor. Mr. Planta had promised to lay my case in the most advantageous light before the new minister, whenever he should be appointed ; but my father, finding that after Mr. Canning's appointment there was a considerable delay, and that several letters which he had written to Mr. Planta remained unanswered, wrote to Lords Camden, Chichester, and Westmoreland, requesting their good offices in the affair. He also wrote to Mr. Canning himself, and the consequence was, that he speedily received a note from Mr. Planta, acquainting him that he had a confidential communication to make, if he would send any friend to speak with him. My father consequently requested a friend at the War office to wait on Mr. Planta, who communicated to him Mr. Canning's final determination not to employ any member of our family in his department, as he did not consider himself at all bound by Lord Londonderry's engagement, that he was resolved to abolish the Icelandic consulship, but that my father should have a proportionate retreat. This arrangement left me unprovided for, and was calculated to do infinite mischief to our family, by depriving us of the immediate countenance and protection of our Government, which, experience had taught us to know, were essential to our consideration in society. My father, having no option, accepted Mr. Canning's offer as a substitute for the Icelandic consulship, and lost no time in renewing his applications to his friends in power for my employment in some other department. A very animated correspondence on the subject was, in consequence, carried

on from March, 1823, to the end of 1824, between the Lords Camden and Chichester and my father, but without any successful result. Thus, after having been put to a very considerable expense, and having had my expectations raised, that I was about to enter on an honourable career, I found those expectations entirely baffled. A married man with a family, I had now to seek a new line of life, having been twice disappointed in the prospects I had formed, first by the Rev. Mr. Russell, and now by Mr. Canning, my only offence being, that I was the son of Mr. Reynolds.

From the moment of the arrival of my father with his family at Paris, their affluent appearance, their distinguished reception by our ambassador Sir Charles Stuart and Lady Elizabeth, and the consideration with which they seemed consequently to be received in society, gave great offence to the Irish rebels, the Burdettites and their associates, many of whom were then in Paris. The consequence was that every thing which envy, calumny, hatred, or malice could invent, was circulated to injure them in public opinion, and to exclude them from society; but their independence, and the countenance they received from the Government, bore them out against secret malice, and none were hardy enough to venture to attack any of them openly or personally.

The abolition of my father's consulship, and Mr. Canning's refusal to ratify my nomination to Florida, were soon known, and were represented by these calumniators as proofs that my father had hitherto been upheld, not by Government, but by Lord Castlereagh

alone. Lord Castlereagh, having been an active, zealous, and very ostensible minister of the crown in Ireland, and afterwards in England during so long and so difficult a period, when the strongest coercive measures were very frequently employed to put down the spirit of revolution, was far from being popular; and, as my father was considered as his avowed favourite protégé (with what truth, these memoirs will best evince), a plentiful share of odium fell on him. Mr. Canning had had a public personal difference with Lord Castlereagh, on which they had met and fought. He was well known to affect a personal dislike to his Lordship, and not to have any political habits with him, or with any of his family connexions, although in many respects holding similar political views; Mr. Canning was therefore by many considered not only as his adversary, but as his rival; and, in proportion as his Lordship's ministry was unpopular, so was the appointment of Mr. Canning as his successor hailed with delight and satisfaction. Whatever had been represented as harsh or offensive in his Lordship's character, was described as being the reverse in that of his successor, who was held forth as "the virtuous minister, the true friend of the people," and my father's being put aside by such a man was argued to be an undeniable proof of his unworthiness.

Sir Charles Stuart was also removed from the French Court, and Lord Granville was appointed ambassador to replace him. My father had no acquaintance with Lord Granville, and, being no longer in

public employment, he could have no claim on his attentions, except as an English gentleman residing in Paris.

All these circumstances combined to encourage the rebel party, and at length their animosity displayed itself in a personal attack, as I shall here relate.

On my father's arrival in Paris, in 1820, some of the family of that Thomas Warren who figured in the trials of 1798 were settled there, but little known beyond the circle of the Irish Jacobin absentees. One of his sons, named Thomas, was in the French army, a lieutenant in the line. He was a Goliath in stature; a clownish bear in appearance and manners. He passed his days in drinking, gaming, riot, and debauchery. One of his companions told my father that he had inherited 4000*l.* from Mr. Archdekin, the whole of which he squandered in a few months; and that his brother made him a small allowance, on which, with his pay and his credit, he contrived to go on. A bully in every sense of the word, he existed but in broils; and, as he added considerable science in fencing and pistol-shooting to his other accomplishments, he figured at once as a leader among the bullies and debauchees of Paris. All the children of Warren had imbibed their father's enmity towards my father, which they evinced as far as they dared, in secret calumnies and detractions. But Thomas Warren now thought himself sufficiently formidable to venture on a more open attack, and that, if he could not bully our family out of the country, he could murder one or the other of them

in it ; and in this he was backed by a set of the lower description of rebels who had fled from justice in Ireland, and who were residing in or near Paris, being too insignificant to be further noticed by the British ministry. As this class of people never *could* meet any of our family in society, the only place where they could come into contact with any of us was in the public walks, the most genteel and frequented of which was the garden of the Tuileries. Although a most violent man, yet Warren's courage required the stimulus of drink to bring it into activity ; and he might have continued his vain blustering a long time quite harmlessly, had he not stumbled across some of us after he had been breakfasting *à la fourchette* with his Irish companions. On the 5th of April, 1825, my mother and one of my sisters were walking in the Tuileries gardens ; on perceiving them, Warren planted himself in the centre of the path on which they were advancing, and flourished his horse-whip at them in the most violent and threatening manner ; which occasioned them to turn round, in order to quit the garden. Near the gate they met my brother Fitzgerald and my uncle entering. They were careful to conceal this insult from them, and they returned with them to their former walk. Warren was still there, but his courage had spent itself in this manly attack on the ladies, and he remained perfectly tranquil.

On the 11th of the same month my brother Fitzgerald was walking in those gardens with three or four other gentlemen, one of whom had told him that his father intended to sell his calèche ; and, as my father

wanted to buy one, Fitzgerald spoke to him of it, and soon after joined another acquaintance to walk in another part of the gardens. At length the hour of retiring arrived, and, before he quitted the Tuileries, he went back to the original party for the purpose of asking the gentleman when he could see the calèche. In the interim Warren had arrived, hot from one of his morning carousals, and had joined the party ; and, seeing Fitzgerald advance, he addressed some words towards him in an angry, though an under-tone, of which only the word *blanc-bec* reached his ear : Warren walked away at the same time. Fitzgerald instantly followed him, and demanded an explanation of what he had said. Warren replied that he could not speak to a *scélérat*. Perhaps Fitzgerald then showed some symptom of hostile intentions ; for one of the gentlemen present called out to them to recollect they were in the Palace-garden. Fitzgerald then took out his card of address, presented it to Warren, and demanded his in return. Warren refused to accept the card, saying he would not speak with a *brigand* ; that Fitzgerald might write to him if he pleased ; *as for his address, he might find it as he could*. Fitzgerald then quitted the garden, and went directly to the lodging of the Chevalier de Puibusque, who was an officer of rank in the staff of Paris, and who without hesitation agreed to be his second ; but he said, “ that Warren was so violent and notorious a character, indulging himself in the most outrageous brutality, it was absolutely necessary to have another friend also in the field capable of keeping him within the bounds of decency, otherwise it was likely they should

have some scene of violence. He had fought a short time previously, and, having missed his aim, he rushed forward and flung his pistol at his adversary's head; which was a trifling outrage compared to many others which he continually committed." Under these impressions, Mr. de Puibusque advised Fitzgerald to request his friend Mr. du Hallay to accompany them, who, being still a more notorious duellist than Warren, but always gentlemanly in his proceedings, might keep him in awe. Mr. du Hallay was then at Amiens, eighty miles from Paris. Mr. de Puibusque said that was of no consequence, Warren's notorious character necessitated the measure; besides, it would occasion but a day's delay, and it would occupy some time to discover Warren's residence, which Mr. de Puibusque undertook to do. Fitzgerald instantly left Paris for Amiens; and within forty-two hours from the time he quitted Mr. de Puibusque, he returned to Paris accompanied by Mr. du Hallay. The whole distance was 160 miles. He had to find Mr. du Hallay at Amiens, to explain matters to him, and then that gentleman had to obtain leave of absence from his regiment; so that assuredly no time was lost.

Immediately on his return to Paris, Fitzgerald wrote the following letter to Mr. Warren:—

" 13 April, 1825, Paris, 20, Rue Grenelle, F. S. G.

" MONSIEUR,

" Le refus que vous m'avez fait de votre adresse, et la nécessité indispensable où je me suis trouvé de faire un petit voyage, sont les seules causes du retard qu'a éprouvée cette lettre.

“ Je me plais encore à croire qu’un instant de réflexion vous aura suffi pour vous faire sentir toute l’inconvenance des paroles outrageantes que vous vous êtes permis de m’adresser aux Tuileries, vu les liens de parenté qui existent entre nous ; et que le fils de celui qui fut élevé dans le sein de ma famille, et sous la tutelle de mon grand-père, n’a agi que sous l’influence de quelque excitements passager, quand il s’est permis envers moi une conduite qui ne saurait être justifiée par aucune provocation de ma part.

“ Si cependant je devois avoir le regret de m’être trompé, [il ne me resterait plus qu’à vous considérer comme un étranger, et à réclamer de vous la satisfaction qu’un homme de bonne compagnie a toujours droit d’exiger.

“ En attendant votre réponse, j’ai l’honneur d’être votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

“ ANDREW FITZGERALD REYNOLDS.

“ P.S. Dans le cas où votre réponse soit dans un sens, je me rendrai, avec mes pistolets et deux de mes amis comme témoins, à l’endroit et à l’heure que vous m’aurez indiqué.

“ à Monsieur,

“ M. Thomas Warren,

“ Hôtel Britannique, Rue Louis le Grand,

“ à Paris. ’ ”*

* 13 April, 1825.

Paris, 20, Rue Grenelle, F. S. G.

Sir,

Your refusal to give me your address, and the indispensable necessity for my taking a short journey, are the only causes of the delay of this letter.

To this letter no answer was returned, nor was any notice taken of it until the 15th. In the mean time Mr. du Hallay having seen Warren, told Fitzgerald "that although his anxiety on the occasion had caused him to come to Paris, yet as he and Warren had so often accompanied each other as friends to the field, he would not choose to go out now as second to his adversary; at the same time that he was desirous of evincing his regard for Fitzgerald, by being as near the scene of action as possible, and as his position with regard to Warren would permit, and that his own man should attend Fitzgerald to the field, as well to assist in case of need, as to bring him the most speedy intelligence of what had passed." Fitzgerald was therefore obliged

I would fain believe that a moment's reflection would suffice to make you feel all the impropriety of the insulting language you made use of to me in the Tuileries, especially when I consider our relationship; and I would wish to think that the son of the man who was brought up in the bosom of my family, and under the guardianship of my grandfather, only acted under the influence of a momentary excitement, when he behaved towards me in a way which was not warranted by any provocation on my part.

If, however, I should be mistaken in this hope, all I have to do is to consider you as a stranger, and to demand of you that satisfaction which a gentleman has always a right to expect.

Waiting your reply, I have the honour to be your very humble and very obedient servant,

ANDREW FITZGERALD REYNOLDS.

P.S. Should your inclination still be hostile, I will wait your arrival with my pistols, and two of my friends as seconds, at any place and hour which you may appoint.

To Mr. Thomas Warren,

Hotel Britannique,

Rue Louis le Grand.

to find another second, which he did in Captain de Germain of the Garde Royale.

At length upon the 15th, the Count de Rochefort called on Fitzgerald on the part of Warren, and a meeting was arranged for at eight o'clock in the morning of Sunday the 17th, on the plain of Grenelle, each party to bring two friends, and the weapons to be pistols only. Fitzgerald with Messrs. de Puibusque and de Germain, and attended by Mr. du Hallay's servant, was on the ground about a quarter of an hour when Warren arrived, accompanied by Captain de Toqueville of the Guards, the Count de Rochefort, and an Irishman whose name I never could learn. Fitzgerald had a case of plain duelling pistols, made by Wogden of London: Warren had a French case, rifle barrels, hair triggers, and detonating locks, which, unquestionably, was an arm of much more certain destruction, and in every respect more formidable than the other, and one whose wound would be incomparably more dangerous than if the barrel was not rifled. Fitzgerald, however, declared himself satisfied that each should use his own weapon, but the seconds would not permit it, their own honour being at stake in allowing such a disparity of weapons; they therefore arranged that the combatants should toss up for choice of weapons, and that both parties should use the same case. Warren won the toss, and chose his own pistols, one of which was given to Fitzgerald, who had never before handled or seen one of the kind. Forty paces were measured, and in the centre of this distance, an inner space of ten paces

was measured, at each end of which a hat was placed. The parties were to be placed at the two extremities of the greater distance, and on the word 'advance' being given, they were at liberty to advance as they pleased, or to remain at the extremity, but in no case to pass the hats, so that each had fifteen paces on his side; but the combatants could never approach nearer to each other than ten paces; they could never retreat a foot, each might fire when, where, and how he pleased: whoever fired first should remain on the spot from which he fired, and there receive the fire of his adversary, who might still continue to advance up to the hat on his own side. Being placed, Warren *ran* forward up to the hat on his own side, presented at Fitzgerald, and remained in that attitude. Fitzgerald deliberately walked forwards, and having advanced to within five paces of his hat, he for the first time raised his pistol to take his aim, as it was evident Warren kept him covered in order to fire the moment Fitzgerald should arrive at his hat, and before he could have had time to raise his arm; but unacquainted with the nicety of the hair trigger, Fitzgerald by some means touched it, and his pistol went off while he was raising it. Thus disarmed, at only fifteen paces before his most inveterate enemy, a noted and ~~promised~~ shot, and so armed, he stood like a mark, while Warren several times corrected his aim, during a space of time greatly exceeding a minute, as marked by the watch of Mr. du Hallay's man, until at length Mr. de Puibusque called out to him, "Fire, Mr. Warren, act honourably." Warren directly lowered his arm, took off his hat, and

replied, "Sir, I am at liberty to aim and fire when and how I please, and I will exercise my right." He then put on his hat, and gradually raising his arm until he had adjusted his aim to his satisfaction, he fired and missed. He looked for a few moments, as if in expectation of seeing the effect of his ball, and when convinced that he had failed, he stamped, raged, swore, flung his arm about, cursed his pistol, and acted, in fine, like a madman. His second Count de Rochefort went up and spoke something to him, and then spoke to Mr. de Puibusque, Fitzgerald still remaining at his post. Mr. de Puibusque then said aloud, and from a distance, "Mr. Fitzgerald, I am asked by Count de Rochefort on behalf of Warren, if you are satisfied?" Fitzgerald answered in the affirmative, and the parties separated. While Warren proceeded towards his coach, his second, Count de Rochefort, came up to Fitzgerald, shook hands with him, and expressed his satisfaction at this termination of the affair.

On this occasion Warren's eagerness to kill my brother alone saved his life, for in his ordinary practice, he could hit a spot on a card twenty times following at every distance from ten to twenty or thirty yards; and his antagonist having already fired, he had nothing to divert his aim or attention but his own evil passions.

Considering the affair as now ended, Fitzgerald amused and occupied himself as formerly. On Wednesday, the 20th, he was again walking in the same gardens, arm-in-arm with the Chevalier de Puibusque, when he again met Warren, who had a whip in his

hand ; he was at the distance of five or six yards, when he raised his whip and shook it in a threatening manner at my brother.

This fresh insult gave the affair an entirely new aspect : nothing now remained but death or dishonour to one of the parties. Fitzgerald instantly quitted the gardens : it was six o'clock. Mr. de Germain was a married man, and it might be a matter of delicacy for him to attend as second in so desperate a fight as must now ensue, and on that account he did not seem very well calculated for such a service. Fitzgerald therefore requested Mr. de Haller, an officer in the Swiss Guards, to act as his friend, with Mr. de Puibusque, on this occasion. Fitzgerald then wrote the following letter to Warren :

“ 20, Rue Grenelle, Faubg., St. Germain, Paris,
ce 20 Avril, 1825.

“ MONSIEUR,

“ D'après ce qui s'est passé entre nous Dimanche, et la demande qui me fût faite en votre nom par Monsieur de Rochefort, ' si j'étais satisfait,' à laquelle vu notre parenté j'avois cru devoir repondre que oui, j'ai cru notre affaire terminée, mais la geste menacante que vous vous êtes permise aux Tuileries aujourd'hui, et dont l'objet ne pouvait se meprendre, me prive d'une croyance qui m'aurait été si agréable ; maintenant Monsieur il ne nous reste plusqu'à terminer nos differences les armes à la main, et à cet effet je me trouverai encore demain au même endroit et à sept heures du matin, avec mes pistolets et mes témoins.

“ Comme il est déjà tard, et qu’il est possible que vous ne receviez par cette lettre ce soir, ou que la recevant vous n’aurez pas le temps de faire vos arrangements, dans le cas où je n’aurai pas votre réponse avant dix heures je concluerai l’affaire remise à après demain matin à pareille heure, et je vous prierais de me faire connoître les noms et adresses de vos temoins pour que les miens puissent s’entendre avec eux.

“ En attendant votre réponse, j’ai l’honneur d’être,

“ Votre très humble et obeissant serviteur,

“ A. F. REYNOLDS.

“ ‘A Monsieur T. Warren, &c.’”*

“ 20, Rue Grenelle Faubg. St. Germain,

“ Sir,

“ Paris, 20th April, 1825. ”

“ After what had passed between us on Sunday morning, and the question put to me in your name by Count de Rochefort, ‘ if I was satisfied,’ to which I conceived it right, on account of our relationship, to answer in the affirmative, I thought our disputes at an end ; but the threatening gesture you made use of to-day in the Tuileries, the meaning of which I could not mistake, deprives me of a belief that would have been so agreeable. We must now, Sir, terminate our difference once for all in the field, and for that purpose I will wait your coming, to-morrow at seven o’clock in the morning, at the former place, with my pistols and my seconds.

“ It is already late, and therefore possible that this letter may not be received by you to-night, or that you may not have time to make your arrangements. If, therefore, I do not receive your reply before ten o’clock, I shall conclude the meeting postponed till the day after to-morrow, at the same hour ; and in that case, I request to be informed of the names and addresses of your seconds, that mine may make arrangements with them.

“ Waiting your reply, I have the honor to be

“ Your very humble and obedient servant,

“ A. F. REYNOLDS.

“ To Monsieur T. Warren, &c.”

To this letter Warren returned no answer, but he went to the residence of M. de Puibusque, accompanied by his friend M. de Toqueville and another officer. The Viscount de Puibusque, brother to the Chevalier, was by accident in the apartment of his brother when Warren entered in the most violent and outrageous passion, and, after blustering awhile, said his brother had forbidden him to fight Fitzgerald again, but he would fight any gentleman who should bring him his message. The Viscount very calmly replied, "Mr. Warren, you fought Mr. Fitzgerald last Sunday; you demanded whether he was satisfied; he replied he was. All parties quitted the field apparently convinced that the matter was ended. You renewed it on Wednesday by a most outrageous offence. Mr. Fitzgerald now demands satisfaction; and you must meet him, or you must bear the stigma of a bully and a coward; and as to your threat of fighting any person who delivers you his message, it is all folly."

Warren now became quite outrageous, and swore he never would fight Fitzgerald, but would beat and horse-whip him wherever he met him; that his brother, and family, had forbidden him to fight him again. "Then," said the Viscount, "they should also have forbidden you to insult him: it is now too late to shelter yourself behind your family; you are fairly and honourably called to the field to answer for your conduct with your life: either you or your adversary must now fall; and if you refuse the call you must abide the consequences." Warren's rage now increased to such a degree of

violence, that his own two friends lent their aid in thrusting him out into the street. M. de Toqueville soon after returned to the Chevalier de Puibusque with a formal message from Warren, stating that he would stand all consequences, but would not fight Fitzgerald any more.

M. de Toqueville then declared, on his own account, that, having accepted the situation of Warren's second, he felt himself bound to go through with him ; that he had now done, and never again would interfere for such a mad bully ; and he requested M. de Puibusque to explain his sentiments to Mr. Fitzgerald, and to present him his compliments, and say, that he would call on him in a day or two, in person, and pay him his respects, which he did.

During these discussions my brother had used every means in his power to prevent this matter from coming to my father's knowledge ; but the notoriety of the circumstances was such, that they could not long remain concealed from him. He already knew all that had passed previous to my brother's return from Amiens ; and having called on the Chevalier de Puibusque, that gentleman made him acquainted with everything as it occurred. A father alone can appreciate his sufferings, increased by the knowledge that this quarrel arose out of events which had occurred during the infancy of that son, whose life was so brutally attacked. He could not even let Fitzgerald suspect that he was at all aware of what was going on, lest anxiety for his feelings might agitate him, and render him less steady

than he should be. My father was therefore silent, though meeting Fitzgerald at breakfast and dinner regularly during that heart-breaking period. But now, that his son was again publicly insulted by a ruffian who refused him honourable satisfaction, and relying on his own brutal strength and the aid of his miserable associates, proclaimed his resolution to repeat the insult in a still more violent manner, he considered it to be his duty to interfere, and he did so effectually. He called on the Marquis de Lubersac and General Baron Achard, the former a gentleman of rank, family, and fortune, in the first circles of society, as well in England as in France; the latter an officer, distinguished for his bravery and conduct, esteemed by his king, and honoured by every one. He related the whole affair to them, as I have done it here; they were intimate acquaintances, and they agreed with my father that it was now incumbent upon him to take a part. They accordingly called on him at eight o'clock the following morning, and accompanied him to the residence of General Coutard, who was military Commandant of Paris. My father stated the affair to the General, who directed him to put the case in writing, which he did the same evening, concluding it by demanding his interference, solely because an officer under his jurisdiction who grossly insulted his son, refused him the satisfaction due to a gentleman, and requiring the continuance of that interference so long as Warren should persist in such refusal, and no longer. A demand so just and reasonable, at the same time so con-

sonant to every feeling of bravery and honour, could not be refused, or received with indifference. Warren was in consequence ordered to join his regiment at Lyons. In reply to this order, and in the hope of evading it, Warren presented a petition to the Minister of War for leave to exchange from the French service into a corps of guards then forming for the King of Spain ; and his request being acceded to, he requested General Coutard to allow him to remain in Paris a few days to make his preparations for proceeding to Madrid, promising that during his stay he would not molest any individual of our family ; and for the performance of this condition his brother became his security. The General granted his request, telling him that if he infringed the condition in the smallest degree, he would march him a prisoner from post to post, in the custody of the gendarmerie to Lyons ; and at the same time he placed him under the surveillance of the military police in Paris. He allowed him seven days' leave to remain in Paris. General Coutard directly communicated all these circumstances to my father. Warren owed this favour to the especial interference of Colonel Baron Aloise, aid-de-camp and chief secretary to General Coutard, a warm partisan of Warren's. Having once appeared in this matter, my father resolved not to let it out of his hands, nor to lose sight of Warren for a moment ; the more so as he had become uneasy under his engagement to General Coutard, as at a meeting of his duellist associates and other gentlemen of the sword and pistol fraternity, convened in

Paris for the purpose of canvassing this affair, it was decided that Warren's conduct was incorrect throughout; and my father having learned that he began to meditate some new act of personal violence, called on General Coutard, who seemed surprised to hear he was still in Paris, as he had given him his route two days previously. He directly rang for Aloise, and ordered him to look to it. Further matters which came to my father's knowledge, caused him to wait upon the General again on the 10th. The King was then at St. Cloud, and General Coutard had gone there that morning on duty; he therefore desired to see Aloise, who kept him waiting in his antechamber a full hour. At length a young man in coloured clothes entered from the street, passed through the ante-chamber, and went without ceremony into the Colonel's chamber. My father was admitted soon after. On entering he saw no one but Aloise, who advanced to meet him. My father asked him whether he had fixed Warren's departure as General Coutard had ordered him to do; Aloise demanded why he wished to know, as Warren had given sufficient assurances to the General as to his demeanour towards my brother. My father was proceeding to explain the reasons he had to doubt the efficacy of those assurances, when the young man whom he had seen entering before him, rose up from behind Aloise's bureau, to defend his friend Warren, as he called him: he refused to give his name, and a very-scandalous altercation took place, in which my father was twice under the necessity of giving him the lie

direct, in consequence of his asserting that the attacks or assaults in the Tuileries had both come from my brother. At length he told Aloise it was very unbecoming of him to permit, much more to cause, such a scene in a public office; that in this matter he was acting as a man of honour and the father of a family ought to do, and that he had only to add, that unless immediate and effectual satisfaction was afforded by General Coutard, he should apply to higher authority. Aloise seemed alarmed, and the consequence of the interview was Warren's instant departure, without appearing again in public. His services were rejected in Spain, he therefore returned to Paris.

Fitzgerald had gone to England on his own affairs soon after Warren's departure for Spain, and had not come back when he returned. This bully, suffering under his disappointment, got drunk on the day of his return, and his courage being thus excited, he went to Mr. de Puibusque, telling him that he had come back to Paris expressly to fight Fitzgerald, having reflected more maturely on the matter since his departure for Spain, and he seemed so resolved on this new freak that Mr. de Puibusque agreed to write next day to Fitzgerald to come over, and give him the desired meeting without a moment's delay. Mr. de Puibusque went to my father's house the same night, for the purpose of obtaining the address of my brother in England, and he had prepared his letter to send off by next day's post; but, alas! sleep, which dissipated the fumes of the wine, caused all Warren's courage to evaporate also, and he

went in the morning to request Mr. de Puibusque not to write, saying, that his brother had advised him to do so. All the Warren family about that time returned to Ireland, except our hero, who remained a few weeks after them. Meantime Fitzgerald had returned to Paris: Warren remained three weeks after his return, but his fighting appetite had entirely evaporated; although Fitzgerald put himself forward in the most ostentatious manner in all public places, he never once laid eyes on Warren, who was at length driven by absolute want to follow his family to Ireland.

It appears that Warren was not entirely discharged from the French service, but only placed on a sort of half-pay list, by which he received about a third of his full pay, and was obliged to hold himself in readiness to join whenever he might be called upon, being always subject to military discipline, and therefore obliged to present himself, before the proper officer, to receive his quarterly pay, which in his case amounted to about 350 francs a year. Being in Paris in the commencement of the year 1829, he went with some of his companions to an English eating-house, held in the Rue Favart, No. 6, on New-year's day, to dine. Three other young men, named Frazer, Gillevray, and Kingston, were sitting in another box in the same room. Some altercation arose between Kingston and one of Warren's friends, who called on Warren: Frazer on this stepped forward also, and said something to Warren, which was not heard, upon which Warren seized him by the breast and by the hair, and giving him a kick with his knee

in the lower part of the belly, threw him on the ground, where he lay senseless. Not satisfied with this, he gave him a violent kick in the same place, and, snapping his fingers, cried out, "C'est fini" (It's all over). Frazer was carried home to his apartments in Meurice's hotel, but Warren's kick had burst his bladder, and he died in a few days.

On the 15th of April, Warren was brought to trial on a charge of murder. The account given of his appearance by the *Gazette des Tribunaux*, is as follows: "On introduit Warren, cet accusé est vetu avec recherche, ses cheveux sont presque noir, et il a des moustaches rouges. Il est d'une haute taille, et paroît doué d'une force prodigieuse, *neuf* gendarmes sont avec lui sur le banc des accusés, son age est de trente deux ans." * It appeared that Frazer's party, who had been in the same room some time previous to Warren's, had drank rather freely, which circumstance was supposed to have led to the quarrel, and invalidated their evidence upon the trial, which saved Warren from the galleys. He was found guilty of homicide, occasioned by wounds and blows, but without intent to kill, and he was sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment, and a fine of 100 francs. He wept during the trial, and when his comrades went to shake hands with him after his sentence, he could only answer by his

* "Warren is brought in: the prisoner is dressed with elegance, his hair is almost black, and he has red mustachios. He is tall, and appears gifted with *prodigious strength*. *Nine* gendarmes surround him on the prisoner's bench; he is thirty-two years of age."

tears. Yet it is to be feared that those marks of grief did not arise in any degree from regret at his having killed Frazer, as on his return to his lodgings the night of the quarrel, he exultingly told his landlord that he had knocked Frazer down, and given him a kick in the belly; and on his return to the tavern next day, under pretence of fetching away his hat, he expressed his regret at not having killed Frazer; adding, that if ever he met him, he would stuff his belly with powder and ball! * His conduct on this occasion excited universal disgust and execration. He petitioned to be allowed to pass the period of his confinement in the criminal side of the prison of St. Pelagie, where his conduct continued, as usual, outrageous and bad to such a degree, that being once invited to dine in the debtors' side of the prison, there was a general rise of the prisoners to have him put out, as unworthy to be admitted into their society, and he was put out. I have never heard of him since.

Warren's ruffianly attack upon my brother was soon known throughout Paris, and in consequence my father became the subject of very general conversation, inso-much that he felt it a duty incumbent on him to lay a statement of his conduct in 1798 before the public; but as he did not choose actually to *publish* anything with so little preparation, he merely drew up such a statement as the time and the documents he then had in Paris permitted. Of this he had several hundred copies

* For a full account of this trial, see La Gazette des Tribunaux of the 25th March and 15th April, 1829.

lithographed, and distributed among his acquaintances. He also sent a copy of it to the Marquis of Camden, one to the Earl of Chichester, and one to Viscount Carleton, and he delivered one in person to Lord Granville, to be read by himself, and forwarded as his Lordship thought fit, to the Government in England, of which Lord Liverpool was then head, and Mr. Canning Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

The result was not agreeable or advantageous to Warren's family, as it exposed their origin and conduct in no very amiable light. They soon after quitted Paris, and retired, first to Versailles, and then to England or Ireland.

In transmitting his pamphlet to Lord Chichester, my father wrote to his Lordship as follows :—

“ 20, Rue Grenelle, Fauborg St. Germain,
“ Paris, 20th June, 1825.

“ MY LORD,

“ I take the liberty of writing to your Lordship for the purpose of sending you the accompanying manuscript, and of giving your Lordship some explanation of the circumstances which have led to its composition and circulation.

“ For the last twenty-seven years my unfortunate family have been the objects of incessant persecution, and with the exception of the very short period during which I enjoyed the avowed approval and protection of his Majesty's Ministers, that persecution has been but too successful.

“ From the high and important post your Lordship

occupied under the government of Lord Camden in Ireland, in 1798, no man is better able to appreciate the nature, motives, and consequences of the services I rendered to my country ; and I must, with gratitude, acknowledge, that your Lordship has invariably done me justice, not only in speaking of me, and by letter, but by extending to me a part of your Lordship's private patronage ; and I must add, that the only period of my life during the last twenty-seven years, in which I could consider myself as in some measure protected from the active malice of that party, whose revolutionary principles I was, so happily for my country, but so unhappily for myself, the principal means of defeating, was the period I was so employed by your Lordship.

“ I need not here repeat to your Lordship the events of the year 1817 ; it will suffice to remind you that, no sooner did I cease to belong to the Post Office, and consequently cease to appear to be openly acknowledged by the Government, than my adversaries made their attacks upon me, at first privately undermining my reputation, and finally, in 1817, openly and publicly accusing me of the most vile and infamous tergiversations, and of the most abandoned and depraved private deportment, as well as of scandalous and criminal misconduct in my department at Lisbon. Your Lordship knows how I was then silenced ; your Lordship is acquainted with the kind of complimentary banishment to which I was then condemned, and with the fatal readiness with which I submitted to the wishes of those exalted persons I had always considered my friends.

Your Lordship is also aware of the manner in which, after the lamented death of the late Marquis of Londonderry, I, and my family, were deprived of that appearance of protection and employment we had, till then, enjoyed ; and, I believe, the Marquis Camden has informed your Lordship that the friends of the United Irishmen, after having exhausted every means which public and private calumny could afford them to injure me, have lately proceeded to the length of repeatedly attacking the life of my son, by openly and publicly insulting him, solely because he was my son, and obliging him, twice in the same week, to call the most notorious ruffian in France to the field, in defence of my conduct in Ireland in 1798.

“ Under these circumstances, my Lord, totally abandoned by Government, I have felt myself compelled, though very reluctantly, at the earnest solicitation of the few acquaintances which the active malice of my enemies, and the cold and fatal neglect of those persons under whose administration I had sacrificed everything to my country, had left me, to put together the accompanying narrative ; but still willing to confine it to what I have always considered to be the wish of those who, notwithstanding their neglect of me, I must always consider as entitled to my deference, I have hitherto refused to publish it ; contenting myself with circulating a few manuscript copies among my acquaintances.

“ I have sent a copy to Lord Camden, and one to Lord Carleton, and I now take the liberty of submitting one to you ; and upon perusal your Lordship will perceive

that I have carefully omitted all names and circumstances not absolutely necessary, and that it is by no means sufficiently detailed to be submitted to the public, although perhaps satisfactory to those to whom I can give personal explanations; many very important particulars being omitted.

“I am very far from wishing to appear before the public, and your Lordship will doubtless acknowledge that human nature can hardly be expected to bear more than I have borne; but if my opponents, who are also the enemies of my country, attack mine and my children’s honour, reputation, and lives, and if those ministers under whose administration I have sacrificed home, country, friends, fortune, family, and everything that is dear to man, for the benefit of my country, stand idly by and suffer me and mine to become the victims, your Lordship cannot refuse me your approbation in an appeal to my country; whether it be through the medium of the public press, or by means of the public tribunals.

“I am not however without hope that through your Lordship’s and the Marquis Camden’s interference, I may now obtain such a public approval of my conduct from His Majesty’s Government, either by the public and honourable employment of my family, or by some personal and hereditary honour, as may be in itself a sufficient reply to any calumny that can be asserted against me.

“Your Lordship will doubtless recollect, that when I quitted Ireland after the Rebellion, I did so after

much solicitation from the late Mr. Cooke, who acting towards me as the agent and representative of His Majesty's Government, promised me that such honours should be conferred on me, and such honourable employments entrusted to me as would more than supply the loss of country, family, and connexions which I was quitting : and Mr. Cooke wrote to the Duke of Portland, then minister, on the subject ; and that during my life and after my death, my children should always be provided for abundantly and honourably. Your Lordship perhaps does not forget the speech of Lord Clare, then Lord Chancellor, to me in the Privy Council, in the presence of the Viceroy and of the whole council, that, "I then was, and should always be considered the protected friend of Government." I yielded to Mr. Cooke's suggestions, I quitted all I had dear on earth ; and how have his promises been fulfilled to me ? Had I refused to quit Ireland, it is true I might have been assassinated ; but my family and connexions were numerous and powerful, and my children at this day would not have been outcasts, my reputation would not have been blasted, nor their fortune ruined ; my family would not be reduced to solicit protection from that Government under which I saved my country, *while every person who composed the administration of that day declares his high opinion of me.*

"I hope your Lordship will excuse this appeal from one who has always been reluctant to do anything that can displease ; that you will see the Marquis Camden, to whom I have also written, before you reply to this ;

and that you will together devise such means as may induce the Earl of Liverpool to do a tardy justice to my family.

“ I have the honour to remain,

“ My Lord,

“ With the greatest respect,

“ Your Lordship’s most obedient

“ Humble servant,

“ THOMAS REYNOLDS.”

His letter to Lord Camden on the same occasion was as follows :

“ 20th June, 1825.

“ MY LORD,

“ I had the honour of writing to your Lordship, eighteen months ago, a very full statement of the condition to which my family had been reduced by the public neglect and abandonment of me by His Majesty’s Government. To that letter your Lordship had the kindness to reply that you would see Lords Liverpool and Chichester, and consult with them what could be done for me ; since that time, although I have anxiously looked for it, I have not been honoured with your Lordship’s notice.

“ I took the liberty of again writing to you about six weeks ago, in consequence of the persecution to which I and my family have been exposed, having gone so far as to compel an individual of my family twice to place his life in danger, to repel insults offered to him solely because he was my son, and which insults none would

have dared to offer had we continued to enjoy the open protection of that Administration under whose government, in 1798, I had the good and evil fortune to render to my country some services : I know not yet whether that letter has ever reached your Lordship's hands.

“ I now again address your Lordship for the purpose of communicating the accompanying pamphlet. For the last two years no pains have been spared by the party whose machinations I was the instrument of defeating, to ruin me and my family in public estimation, by undermining my character. They have eagerly taken advantage of the publications of 1817 (of which I was prevented taking notice by the express command of His Majesty's Government, accompanied by an assurance that my obedience should be rewarded by an ample protection), to give a foundation, or at least a colour, to all manner of slanderous tales, and they find but too strong a confirmation of what they say in the fact of my being entirely cast off by those who were pledged to be my friends ; the late events, in which my son was so unhappily compelled to act a prominent part, have necessarily whetted the curiosity of the public, and have given a fine field for the spread of calumny. Under these circumstances, the few persons who, notwithstanding the active malice of my adversaries, and the cold contemptuous neglect of the Administration, still feel willing to hold intercourse with my persecuted family, have urged me to make public a full statement of all the public events in which I have been concerned, I felt unwilling, however, to bring before the public

circumstances, events, and names, connected with those matters which, I was ever given to understand, His Majesty's Government desired to avoid bringing into discussion again. I determined for the present, and until I could learn the sentiments of your Lordship, of my Lord Chichester, and of my Lord Liverpool, to content myself with handing about, among my private friends, the very limited accounts I have now the honour to transmit to your Lordship.

“ It was ever my intention, and it is still my wish, to pass the remainder of my days in retirement, if that protection to which I am on all hands allowed to be entitled had been extended to my family, and to leave to the future historian the care of rescuing my name from obloquy, *taking care to leave behind me ample documents to enable my children to appeal to the public at a sufficient distance of time for the passions excited by the unhappy events which accompanied the close of the last century to subside.* It would be with the most painful feelings of regret that I should find that the welfare, honour, happiness, and lives of my children, required me to adopt another course, and appeal to the public for protection, through the medium of the press or of the tribunals of my country ; and I cannot, even yet, reject the hope that, by your Lordship's interference, His Majesty's Government may be induced so to countenance me and my family, that I may be saved so disagreeable a measure as either of the above, and appeal to the avowed approval of my King and country as a proof of the purity of my intentions, and of the

strict honour of my actions. I have never ventured to dictate to His Majesty's Government what measure they should take respecting me, but I took the liberty of alluding to what would be the most agreeable to me and my family, and most conducive to our honour and happiness, in a letter I had the honour of addressing to your Lordship eighteen months ago. As I do not wish to intrude my concerns upon you more than is absolutely necessary, I shall not here repeat what I then said; I shall merely remind your Lordship that, in acting as I did for the benefit of my King and country, I renounced family, friends, fortune, nay, even my country itself, to save that country, under your Lordship's administration, from becoming one vast field of carnage; that I did so without any view of self-interest; and that if I am now calling upon my country, *it is not from any sordid desire of deriving a profit from those services, but compelled to it by the most determined persecution; it is a call I make for protection against her and my enemies.*

“ I have the honour to be, my Lord,

“ Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

“ THOMAS REYNOLDS.”

To these letters he received the following replies :—

“ Arlington-street, July 5th, 1825.

“ SIR,

“ Lord Chichester and I yesterday saw Lord Liverpool on your subject. His Lordship expressed a friendly disposition towards you, and when Lord Chi-

chester and myself are better prepared to speak to him on the subject, we shall be ready to renew the conversation. I beg to refer you to a letter you will receive from Lord Chichester by this day's post.

“I have the honour to be, Sir,

“Your most obedient humble servant,

“CAMDEN.

“To Thomas Reynolds, Esq., &c.”

“Stratton-street, July 4th, 1825.

“DEAR SIR,

“I have received your letter of the 20th of last month, together with your address to your friends.

“Without making any observations upon your address, I shall proceed to inform you that Lord Camden and I have had an interview with Lord Liverpool, who expressed a friendly disposition towards you, and has allowed us to make a specific proposition with regard to your son, whenever we shall be enabled to do so by knowing your sentiments with regard to him, and what the situation may be that he would reasonably aspire to. If he should be in London, you might instruct him to call upon me or on Lord Camden. It will afford me great pleasure to be in any degree instrumental to your gaining your object; and I am,

“Very faithfully yours,

“CHICHESTER.

“To Thomas Reynolds, Esq., &c.”

I consider these letters as invaluable, because they show that my father's conduct must ever have continued

to be approved of by those who best knew it, when, after a lapse of twenty-seven years, the only two survivors of those persons, the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, wrote thus to him, and endeavoured to forward his interests in such a friendly manner. Could those noble-men have given stronger proofs of their knowledge of his honour and rectitude?

My brother did not fail to repair instantly to London, where, after a delay of about a year and a half, during which Lords Camden and Chichester were unwearied in their exertions on his behalf; in the beginning of 1827 Lord Liverpool gave him an appointment in the Stamp Office, for which he was called upon to give twenty thousand pounds security.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Mr. Reynolds's domestic afflictions—Marriage and death of his youngest daughter—The French revolution of 1830—Mr. Reynolds becomes the subject of Divine grace—Happy change in his character and feelings—Effects of true religion—the cholera makes dreadful havoc in Paris—Mr. Reynolds's dangerous illness—he recovers, and continues in good health for three years—He is attacked by a disease of the heart—his last illness—and death—The Rev. Robert Lovett's account of his latter years—John Black's scurrilous libel—The London and Paris Courier—Mr. G. W. M. Reynolds's letter—Mr. Ward's letters—a short summing up—valuable testimonials from the Marquis Camden written after Mr. Reynolds's death—Conclusion.

1827—1837.

THE remainder of my father's eventful life was passed in quiet as regarded political matters; but domestic trials were now sent by a merciful Providence to wean him more and more from a world which had always misjudged him, and to direct his hopes to that haven where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.

In January, 1828, my eldest sister married a French officer, and in the month of April following, my youngest sister was married to Mr. David, who had been just named French Consul at Mexico. It was a marriage of inclination on both sides, and, as is too seldom the case in such marriages, it was a match in every point of view most desirable. Mr. David's father was a gen-

tleman of property, who had retired from public life after many years' service as Consul-General at Smyrna. He himself was a gentlemanly and highly educated young man, beginning life with a competency, and with good prospects for the future. He was devotedly attached to my sister, and to all appearance there was a promise of many years of domestic happiness before them. They left France a few months after their marriage, and on their voyage to Mexico were nearly lost. The ship they sailed in was obliged to put in to the Island of Guadaloupe a mere wreck : fortunately they escaped with their lives, and after enduring many hardships, reached their destination. They resided in Mexico for about a year, and all my sister's letters during that year speak of happiness too great to last. Alas ! it was not to last long. On the 19th of February, 1830, she was brought to bed of a daughter, and on the 16th of March she was called to a better world : her child did not long survive her. This was a sad affliction to my father and mother ; she was most deservedly dear to them both, and her death left a void in their hearts which was never filled up. The extraordinary events of 1830, though they did not, and could not make them forget their loss, yet necessarily diverted their attention from dwelling on it in some degree. It is not my intention to say anything about that wonderful revolution, to which I was an eye-witness from first to last, save that many of the accounts published at the time contained gross exaggerations respecting " the three days." Anecdotes were circulated at the time to please the

people, most of which were mere inventions, and these have been collected and gravely given to the public as authenticated facts ; however, the faithful historian may find in that eventful period acts of devotion and heroism in abundance, without having recourse to fiction or exaggeration.

The year 1831 was a glorious epoch in my father's history, for in that year the Sun of Righteousness rose upon him, and came indeed with "healing on his wings." The change wrought upon his character, his temper, and his entire spirit was most striking and evident ; the sense of the wrongs he had met with during more than thirty years had rendered him irritable, and inclined to be hasty when any allusions to Irish affairs were made, and a feeling of hatred towards all those who had personally attacked him was evident to the most casual observer. This was no more than might be expected from the natural man ; but no sooner did the glad tidings of redeeming love reach his heart, than a change took place, which was as striking as it was enduring. He became humble, mild, and forgiving ; he appeared to have forgotten all political affairs, and to trouble himself no more about them ; his whole attention was devoted to the glorious subjects which had recently been opened up to him, and he found peace, and joy, and happiness, in the consideration that this life was only a passage to another, and that his light afflictions were not worthy to be compared with the exceeding and eternal weight of glory which was reserved in heaven for those who believed. His faith

displayed itself actively in works of charity ; and during the remainder of his life he was the diligent promoter of every plan which could tend to the eternal or temporal wellbeing of his neighbours, without distinction of country, religion, or party. I can confidently appeal to all who knew him in Paris, rich as well as poor, French as well as English, for the corroboration of this assertion ; nor must it be supposed that he was thus led to change by the apparent approach of death ; he was at that time sixty years of age, and had never known a day's serious illness ; he was a strong, hale man, and, to all appearance, likely to live many years. It was the work of God alone, and therefore it lasted until the end. Day by day, and year by year, he grew in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ : his mind became cheerful, and though he could not avoid hearing of the occasional attacks made on him by party writers, yet they no longer caused him the slightest pain, and he was enabled to forgive them, and to wonder how their opinions of him ever had the power to annoy him for a moment. Such is the effect of vital religion ; it raises a man above the world, and shows him the true value of man's judgment ; it teaches him to let his light so shine before men that they may see his good works, and thus be led to glorify God ; and it makes him anxious to do all mankind all the good he possibly can ; but it also teaches him that beyond this he has nothing more to do with this world.

In the beginning of 1832 the cholera appeared in Paris : the havoc that dreadful malady made was ter-

rific—during the months of April and May Paris was like a deserted city; the comparatively few persons who were seen in the streets hurried along with dismayed looks, and cart-loads of coffins were to be seen in all parts of the town. The number of the dead was never publicly known, but I believe that 40,000 would be much within the mark. We lived then in the Faubourg St. Germain, which was one of the quarters that suffered most: it pleased God to spare us all; but in the month of July I was called up in the middle of the night, and I found my father speechless, senseless, and almost cold. He had been suffering for several days, but his symptoms were more like asthma than cholera, and on going to bed that night his breathing was very much embarrassed. I immediately procured medical aid, and the next morning his life was despaired of: he lost sixty ounces of blood that day, and neither he, nor any of us expected he could recover, but his excellent constitution, his tranquillity of mind, and above all the mercy of God, restored him to his family after several weeks' confinement. It was however evident that his health had received a severe shock, and he was no longer so strong nor so active as before. The history of his life during the next three years was the history of a Christian's life, and can offer little to interest the world in general. My dear friend the Rev. Robert Lovett, minister of Marbœuf Chapel, has kindly undertaken to add his testimony to my father's character, by writing an account of his latter years; I shall therefore pass on to the close of his mortal career.

In the summer of 1835 I went to England on business relating to the British free schools in Paris, and during my absence he was attacked by an inflammation in his eye, which during three months caused him intense suffering, and reduced him to the lowest state. I did not know of his illness, for such was his affection for me that he feared I should either be disturbed in my mind, or else that I should be induced to leave England before my business was concluded. When I returned I was shocked at finding him so reduced: he was then recovering, but the sight of his left eye was entirely gone. During the following winter he continued pretty well, but was evidently declining. In the beginning of April, 1836, he was again seized with a difficulty of breathing, and in spite of all the care of his medical attendant this difficulty increased daily; at last we had a consultation, the result of which was the opinion that he could not live another week, as it was evident he was suffering under an obstruction of one of the great vessels in the heart. I immediately sent for my brother, but before he could arrive my father was again out of danger, and recovering rapidly. In the month of June he was again attacked slightly in the same way, and day by day the distressing symptoms increased; he lost his appetite, and though still able to move about, and help himself, yet he was evidently growing worse; still we hoped he might be spared a little longer; but his strength gradually declined, till at last he was unable to go up stairs to his bed-room. About the end of July he could no longer bear the motion of his car-

riage; at last, on the 8th of August, he took to his bed entirely, and was occasionally lightheaded. Symptoms of dropsy began to show themselves in his legs and hands, and on the 18th of August at ten o'clock in the morning he fell asleep in Jesus without a struggle or even a sigh. He had lost the power of speech during the last few hours, but he evidently retained the faculties of his mind to the last, and, by his smiling countenance and attempts to join in our prayers, he showed that he was in the full enjoyment of that peace of God which passeth all understanding, that peace which the world can neither give nor take away.

His remains were, in compliance with his wishes, taken to England, and deposited in a vault belonging to my brother, in the churchyard of the retired village of Welton in Yorkshire.

The following valuable testimony, alluded to above, will be read with interest by all Christians, and ought to put to shame some of those persons, on account of whose slanderous assertions I am under the necessity of adding a few more pages to this work:—

“ Paris, March 15th, 1837.

“ MY DEAR BROTHER,

“ Most heartily do I enter into your feelings upon the subject of your dear father's memory; and with all readiness of mind do I comply with your request ‘ that I should state what I know of his Christian life and conversation, and whatever I may have observed tending to establish the reality of that influence under which

his latter years were passed.' I apply myself to do so, thankful to bear my humble testimony to the grace of God which was in him, however conscious I be of inability to do the subject justice, and however imperfect the sketch may be. You will receive it in the spirit of brotherly love, and make whatever use of it you think proper.

“ In every case where a minister of Christ has reason to believe that his labours have been blessed, and the Lord has prospered his own word, it is an inexpressibly delightful employment to trace the progress of that mighty work, by which the mind is brought from darkness unto light, and the will and affections are subjected to the obedience of Christ. This delight I feel in reviewing your father's experience of the power of God's truth; and indeed so very peculiar is the satisfaction I derive from the contemplation of his case, whose memory will be always dear to my heart, that to be permitted to record the developments of his new life is, in my estimation, an honour, as well as it is a duty.

“ What your father's history had been up to the period when our interesting connexion commenced, will doubtless form the subject of the volumes which you are preparing for the press: and I rejoice to hear that the documents from which your materials are supplied are such as will establish the integrity of his political career, and rescue his memory from imputations which ignorance of facts may have unjustly attached to it. This, for your sake, dear brother, and for the sake of

the other members of your family, must be gratifying to every one who ‘rejoices not in iniquity, but rejoices in the truth;’ and in this my heart unfeignedly will rejoice.

“The Scripture testimony concerning the whole human family, without difference or distinction, supplies us with all that is necessary to know in your father’s case in order to understand the character of that change which God wrought in him. That testimony is the Spirit’s description of man’s alienation from the life of God, the enmity of his mind by wicked works, the deceitfulness and desperate wickedness of his heart, the fruitful source of everything that defileth. Such is the state and character of every man in the sight of God, however upright and unblamable he be in the sight of men, and such is the discovery made by the Spirit of Christ to every individual whose understanding is enlightened to know the value of the Gospel message.

“What a precious proof was given us of the unspeakable love of God, and of the power of His Gospel to save, when we first believed, and with what joy we hailed the amazing tidings of iniquity forgiven and sin covered! When we describe therefore the effects of God’s word upon others, or read the account of them, we speak that we do know—the testimony concerns that we have seen—and it is true. To those only who have themselves found peace and acceptance, and a hope that maketh not ashamed in the grace and power of Jesus Christ, will the fact of any sinner’s conversion to God be a subject of intelligence, or a cause of joy—and

to all who have been blessed with this experience will the short notice about to be taken of your father's acknowledgment of the truth, and simplicity of spirit, and newness of life, occasion thanksgiving to God.

“The steps by which Mr. Reynolds was led to the perception of ‘the fulness of the blessing of the Gospel of Christ’ prove the reasonableness of his faith, and the energy of those impressions which produced that change in his religious principles, and made him so remarkable for his zeal and consistency. That change was not the effect of a sudden impulse of feeling, nor the blind acquiescence of the mind in new and untried doctrines, because they happened to be held by some whom he respected; for I well remember, dear brother, how, after your mind was directed to these things, and before I was acquainted with your father, you used to describe to me the proud repugnance of his spirit to the humbling doctrines of the cross; and how tenaciously he cleaved to the fond but fatal notion of justification before God by the mixed process of working and believing. I remember how the change which the Spirit of Truth produced in you seemed in his eyes to be the expression of a disordered mind; and when, through your entreaty, he was at length induced to come to Marbœuf chapel, and the glory of the Saviour’s finished work began to unfold itself to his astonished view,—it was but by degrees and slowly the darkness of his mind was dissipated.

“The stronghold of self-righteousness, within which he had entrenched himself, was not voluntarily surrendered, but carried by storm. Every step was debated,

and from every point was he driven by the sword of the Spirit: and at last, his full and hearty and devoted recognition of the gracious plan of salvation was gained only by the energy and light of truth. But, when gained, his was no formal or half-hearted profession: he gave himself to the Lord who had, in sovereign compassion, conquered his proud heart, and, constrained by the love of Christ, he desired to live no longer unto himself, but unto Him who died for him and rose again. How my soul blesses God when I contemplate him sitting among us at our weekly meetings, listening with all the docility of a child to the exposition of God's word, and in the most heart-thrilling simplicity asking us questions, not ashamed to appear ignorant to man, but afraid to be ignorant towards God! I say, when I recall to mind those days, and picture to myself that dear brother sitting, in the spirit of Mary, at Jesus's feet, as one desirous of learning more and more of Him in whom he believed, my soul blesses the Lord—and when I think how he had been shocked when he learned that you had hazarded such a step as to attend a private meeting of a few Christian friends on a week-day, and had identified yourself with the enthusiasts, how apprehensive he was that your understanding was impaired? may we not say, what has God wrought?—and have we not abundant cause for thanksgiving? From the day he first ventured among us, to the day of his death, there never was a service in the church, nor a meeting for social exercises, at which he was not present, unless prevented by *serious* illness. From the day he first

knew the Lord, he never turned his back upon the Lord's table ; and I bear him witness that, in his intercourse with his brethren, an humble, meek, and loving spirit was his characteristic. His desire to know the mind of God led him diligently to search the Scriptures, and often, very often, has my soul been refreshed by his clear perception of their spiritual import. But he did not stop there—he was not satisfied with luminous views, occasional joys, transient emotions : his was not the religion of the head, or of the church, or of the stated assemblies of the Lord's people, depending upon excitement for its feeling, and on publicity for its development ; but it was the living—the abiding—the reigning principle of the soul, telling upon the every-day actions of his life, and cherished as his treasure in the secret chambers of the inner man. It was this that gave a character to his religion, and a palpable form to his principles—that gave glory to his Lord, and honour to his profession. His active and persevering attention to the duties connected with his office as a manager of the British free-schools, in the establishment of which he was mainly instrumental, and for the prosperity of which he was deeply solicitous, are models of imitation to his fellow-labourers in this good cause, who remain. I follow him not into the details of his domestic life—but of this I am confident, that in nothing connected with home had he such real satisfaction as in the reading of God's word with your dear mother. There was scarcely an occasion when I visited him, that he had not some passage of Scripture upon which he had been meditating

with Mrs. Reynolds, to which he was anxious to direct my attention, either as having conveyed some precious truth to his mind, or as requiring the aid of greater experience than his own to open up to his satisfaction; and, by our conversation at such times, my hands have been greatly strengthened, and my soul much comforted. The firm persuasion of his mind that salvation is the gift of God, by faith and not by works—that the quickening influence of the Spirit of life is put forth in the Gospel of his grace—that the life of faith is a life of holiness—that union with Christ in his death is evinced by communion with Christ in his life—and that, while all diligence is to be given to make increase in every good work, the security of the believer is laid in the faithfulness and power of God, led him to be affectionately desirous that, as he had found all this through the ministry of the unadulterated Gospel of Christ, Mrs. Reynolds, whom he loved as his own soul, might always enjoy the same advantages; and the document discovered among his papers containing his last solemn request of, and advice to her, never to fix her residence where she could not have those advantages, has given you a sacred evidence of his deliberate judgment of that Gospel's value. As he had the witness in himself that he was born again of the Spirit, through faith in Christ Jesus, and rejoiced in the hope of the glory to be revealed, so did the expression of that new birth give ample evidence to his brethren that he had received the love of the Truth: and the comfort and the rejoicing of the hope which he possessed throughout the period of

his last illness, and the confidence he held of his acceptance in the Beloved, leave no doubt on any of our minds that an abundant entrance was ministered unto him into the kingdom and joy of his Lord.

“He is gone to his rest—and, oh ! my brother, how less than nothing is to be esteemed the opinion that man may form respecting him ! How utterly unqualified, for the most part, are those for whom you write to appreciate his renewed character ! Has not Eternal Wisdom declared, that ‘the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God ; they are foolishness unto him ; neither can he know them, for they are spiritually discerned ?’ They who are spiritual will recognise that, as they are Christ’s, so was he ; and they will glorify God on his behalf. Of him I shall ever retain the most affectionate remembrance. His love for me, for the truth’s sake, was that of a son for a father, and truly I loved him with a love unfeigned. With all the fond feelings of a friend, a brother, and a minister, I have written these pages, praying that they who have been most incensed against him may, by the grace of God, be in their last years, and in the end of life, altogether such as he.

“Believe me, my dear brother,

“Ever affectionately yours in Christ,

“ROBERT LOVETT.”

One would naturally suppose that my father’s death would have closed all his earthly accounts, and that those enemies who had pursued him through life with

so unrelenting a hatred would at least, now that the grave had closed over him, have refrained from any further display of their animosity; but, so far from this being the case, his death was the signal for the renewal of their slander. Calumny is akin to cowardice; and these persons, who for several years had held their peace, no sooner fancied that they could with safety attack the man they so bitterly hated, than they burst forth with a malignancy of invective which could only be surpassed by its shameless and barefaced falsity. As far as I am concerned, I do most sincerely thank them; had it not been for those calumnies, these memoirs might never have appeared, for the consciousness I felt of my inability to do justice to the task I have undertaken was so overwhelming, that it required a strong stimulus to overcome my unwillingness to appear before the public.

The attack, as far as I could learn (for at the time it began I was accompanying my father's remains to their last earthly home, and did not know of it for some time afterwards), was commenced by John Black, editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, which, under Mr. Perry's editorship, had been the record of that person's ingratitude and duplicity. John Black, who is, I presume, one of the mysterious personages who, under the title of *We*, call themselves the advocates of truth and justice, the haters of oppression, and ex-parte statements, and the guardians of public morals, thus speaks of my father:—

“Reynolds the informer is dead;—the nation is

therefore saved the further expense of supporting in fashionable style at Paris one of the most perfidious scoundrels that ever polluted the earth and degraded human nature. By degrees the country has been eased by the hand of death of the burden imposed by Lord Castlereagh upon the people for the maintenance of their perfidious betrayers. Reynolds, whom Castlereagh hired to foment a rebellion in his native land, and to betray into the hands of the executioner the intimate personal friends of both (for Reynolds moved in genteel society), has at last gone to his great account ! One of the most splendid bursts of Curran's eloquence is perhaps his character of Reynolds, sketched while vainly attempting to rescue a helpless client from the fangs of the informer and his equally perjured employer. But the wretch cared not for reproach ; hardened in infamy, and sure of his blood-money, he played his part in the terrible drama of 1798, and, having slain a *hecatomb* by treachery and secret report, he withdrew from the theatre of his frightful exploits, and *was sent straightway from the charnel-house (Dublin Castle), to be postmaster at Lisbon. There he remained, drawing about 1,400*l.* a-year from his place, until the British army entered the Portuguese territory to engage with the French.* Known personally to some of his countrymen in that army, and by the infamous notoriety of his name to all, hated by some for his perfidy towards their friends, abhorred by all for his profligate conduct and mercenary bloodstained treachery, *his character was speedily blown, and, finding Lisbon thenceforth neither a pleasant nor even a safe abode,*

he fled to France, where he sought and found shelter by getting rid of his name. In the latter country he continued ever since to reside, living in luxury upon the wages of his guilt."

This article was copied by the *Weekly Dispatch* and other journals of the same stamp. Now, John Black, when he published this article, knew very well that he was publishing a tissue of the foulest falsehoods that ever disgraced a public journal. As to his abuse, and the ugly names he has so elegantly strung together, they are, like their author, too despicable to notice: it is very easy for some persons to be scurrilous, nothing more so; and especially when the scurrility is not even attempted to be justified by facts; but surely such language must be repulsive to every honourable mind, and I trust that all honest and impartial readers will see from the preceding memoirs how undeserved is the abuse, and how utterly false all the assertions of John Black. I should feel myself degraded to his level if I stooped to retaliate by similar foul language; and indeed, unless I borrowed epithets from his vocabulary, I could not find words to express my utter contempt for him.

Either this John Black did or did not believe the above calumnies when he gave them to the world. If he did, he must be far gone in folly—if he did not, he is, still further gone in knavery. He says my father went from Dublin Castle as postmaster to Lisbon, where he remained till the British troops went there, when he fled to France! (with which country we were then at war),

and there hid himself under a false name till his death. Thus placing my father as British postmaster in Lisbon while that city was occupied by the French, and sending him thence to Paris as soon as the British troops drove out the invaders ! A few days afterwards he published a letter signed “ Maceroni ” (who, by the signature, is, I suppose, one of the *non mi ricordo* tribe, who is ashamed to appear without a mask), in which the gallant General Montague Matthew, and our Italian witness, (*par nobile fratrum* *), together with Mr. Ridgeway the bookseller, are introduced as bringing before the House of Commons the story of my father’s influencing all the grand jury in 1817. How could John Black have inserted this precious document when he had just before assured the public that my father was at that very time (1817) living in Paris under a false name ?

John Black need only have taken the trouble to ask the first gentleman he met, his employer, Mr. John Easthope, for instance, who visited in my father’s house in Paris in 1825 †, to have discovered that, instead of living there under a false name, like the above-men-

* Can Macaroni be Henry Grey Bennet ?

† It is a singular coincidence that Mr. James Perry, the former proprietor and editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, and the first English slanderer of my father in the public press, was professedly his intimate friend, and deeply indebted to him for services rendered to those who were justly dearer to him than life ; and the present proprietor of the same paper, Mr. John Easthope, was also a partaker of my father’s hospitality in Paris, and the familiar acquaintance of my brother. I am persuaded, however, that the latter gentleman knew nothing of the unprincipled conduct of Black.

tioned Maceroni, my father was perfectly well known. As one of the founders and managers of the British free schools, his name was published each year on the first page of the report of those institutions, and distributed to the number of some thousands, together with his address, in Paris, London, Manchester, Liverpool, Hull, and even New York ; or John Black might have referred to the former pages of his own journal, where he would have found the record of his predecessor, Mr. Perry's, shameless desertion of honour, consistency, and private friendship, in 1817, together with a sufficient account of my father, to have spared him the publication of a paragraph, every word of which, without exception, is notoriously false ; yet, in defiance and neglect of all these sources of ready information, John Black, who, as a public writer, and especially as one of the champions of political purity and radical reform, should be the advocate of truth, had the unblushing effrontery to publish the above-quoted libel.

This article was referred to by a gentleman in the office of the chief secretary of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on application being made to him respecting the annuity, which, by my father's death, had devolved on my mother. That gentleman gave our friend, the applicant, to understand, that the Irish Government had a strong prejudice against the annuity, and referred him to John Black's libel, as being in accordance with the general opinion entertained by the administration in Ireland ! Surely the gentleman in question was in

error : the Government, whatever may be their political bias, can never forget that they are to deal out justice to all with an impartial hand, and they had better data to act upon than any newspaper scandal : their subsequent conduct has proved this opinion to be correct.

The *Sun* newspaper took up another ground, and republished Curran's specimen of Irish eloquence. This was copied by several of his satellites, and also by a paper printed at Paris, called the *London and Paris Courier*. Mr. G. W. M. Reynolds, the proprietor, was at that time at Calais, and during his absence the article was inserted. Mr. G. W. M. Reynolds returned to Paris next day, and immediately wrote to my mother as follows :—

“ 30th August, 1836.

“ MADAM,

“ Nothing can exceed my surprise and regret at the shameful insertion of the scandalous and false article from the *Sun* in my paper of this morning. As a proof, however, of my innocence, allow me to state, that I returned from Calais this morning by the *Malle Poste* at five o'clock, and the matter for this morning's paper was selected by the editor yesterday. I make you a thousand apologies for his bad taste, and, perhaps, wilful conduct, and will do anything in my power to contradict the article if you point out the way ; an article which I know to be false, and which is as calumniating as it is untrue. Pray show this letter to your son, Mr. T. Reynolds, and

once more accept my apologies, for I assure you I am as indignant and as much hurt at the insertion of that paragraph as you can be.

“ I remain, Madam,

“ Your most obedient servant,

“ G. W. M. REYNOLDS.

“ 55, Rue Neuve St. Augustin,

“ Librairie des Etrangers.”

My mother waited my return from England to show me this letter, and before I had returned the *London and Paris Courier* had ceased to appear, or I should have demanded its insertion in that paper:

I afterwards found that the insertion of the paragraph was accidental ; Mr. Ward, the gentleman who edited the paper, did not know anything of my father, but, seeing an article which he conceived of some interest, he cut it out of the *Sun* as a matter of course, and sent it to the printer of the paper he conducted. This will be seen from the following extract of a letter, which he wrote to me on the occasion, as soon as he discovered the unintentional injury he had inflicted.

“ 2nd November, 1837.

“ SIR,

“ My attention has been directed to an article which formerly appeared in the *Paris Courier*, in which your father's name was introduced. It is unnecessary for me to call to mind whether the article was inserted by me or by any other person in my department of the paper ; but of this you may rest assured, that no one of

us was aware that any being in existence could be affected by it. The article extracted from a London journal was one of those statements which seemed likely to interest the public; and, as no motive existed for its suppression, it passed as a matter of course. Had I received the slightest intimation that its insertion was calculated to produce uneasiness in any mind, it would certainly have been withdrawn.

“ I have the honour to be, Sir,

“ Your most obedient servant,

“ J. WARD.

“ 36, Rue de la Victoire.”

In another letter, dated the 6th November, 1837, Mr. Ward says:—

“ Nothing could afford me greater pleasure than to be able to repair the injury inflicted upon the memory of your father by the article inadvertently copied in the *Paris Courier* from a London paper, more especially as the information which I have subsequently received leaves me no room to doubt of the disinterested and honourable feelings which influenced him on the occasion in question. . . . Neither my son nor myself had any knowledge either of your family or of the historical fact which the scandalous statement of the London journal had so shamefully falsified. . . . I think it due from one gentleman to another to assure you that no personal feelings could have influenced the offensive insertion, and to intimate my great regret at the occurrence.”

I can only say that this upright and candid language, which came spontaneously from Mr. Ward as soon as he heard of the injury he had thus unwillingly inflicted, does equal honour to his head and to his heart.

I mention these circumstances to show how far party spirit will carry men. There could be no other motive for these attacks but an unmanly desire to wound the feelings of an afflicted widow, and to continue a series of persecutions which had for more than forty years been pursued with a malignity so indefatigable as to be perfectly incredible, if we did not know that, of all vindictive feelings, the most bitter and enduring are those of detected and disappointed knavery. But I again say, I thank them for their malice, for it has been the immediate cause of my making this appeal to the honour and the justice of my country, and of posterity.

But let me hasten to take leave of this subject, and in a few lines sum up the main points of these Memoirs.

I trust I have shown clearly that my father was not at all the character which his enemies have so long represented him ; that, in making the communications to Government which enabled them to put down the United Irishmen, he was in nowise influenced by any sordid or selfish motives, but that he did so at the risk of his own life ; and, though by so doing he lost almost everything he possessed, yet he refused every offer of recompense ; and that to this hour the Government have not even paid him for the property destroyed by their own troops. On the 1st of January, 1798, he was re-

siding in affluence at Kilkea Castle, of which he had a lease for three lives, renewable for ever, at a fine of one year's rent. The property consisted of the castle and 350 acres of land. The fine paid for the lease, and the moneys expended on repairs, had reduced the rent to 48*l.* a-year. The land was worth at that day 26*s.* an acre*, which, at no more than twenty years' purchase, makes 8100*l.* This he lost by the part he took, as the Duke of Leinster refused to ratify the lease in consequence. The British troops destroyed property, duly certified according to Act of Parliament, amounting to 12,760*l.* These two sums make a total of 19,860*l.* actual *bonâ fide* loss; not to mention other losses, which I have already shown in the body of this work.

Now what has he received? A sum of 500*l.* paid to him at the time when he expected to be enabled to quit Ireland till the storm had blown over, and an annuity of 1000*l.* Irish, or 920*l.* English, with reversion to my mother, my brother, and myself! Why, 19,860*l.* would have purchased two such annuities, and yet he is said to have been bought! when he might have had any sum—any honours he chose to demand—previously to his giving information. Thus this “needy man, pressed for a sum of money to discharge some debts,” took the straightest and readiest way to accomplish his end by sacrificing almost every shilling of property he was worth in the world, and making his

* The property is now worth double that sum.

family beggars. I have already shown the nature and value of the situations he held in Lisbon and Iceland. I shall only add that at his death his wealth amounted to between three and four hundred pounds' worth of furniture, which, with his annuity, devolved on my mother. Not one shilling of property remained to be divided among his children. An excellent education was all he was able to give us; and after my mother's death, if we outlive her, we shall be entitled to the annuity, which ceases with our lives.

Since my father's death my brother has been honoured by several letters from the Marquis Camden, written in the kindest terms. My father's conduct and character necessarily formed the principal subject of that correspondence. In further corroboration of the assertion that my father was not only personally unknown to the Irish Government, but, until he was betrayed into their hands by the United Irishmen themselves, his very name was carefully concealed from the Government, and not only that he did not make any stipulation, but it was impossible for him to have done so, Lord Camden says in a letter to my brother, dated the 11th of September, 1836 :—

“ Writing from recollection, the first information that was received of the conspiracy, and which led to its detection, was made by Mr. Cope, who had been informed of it by Mr. Reynolds, under a promise that his name should not be disclosed, which promise was strictly kept until the interference of the rebels led to its disclosure. The personal communications after-

wards took place between Messrs. Reynolds and Cope, and the late Lords Chichester and Castlereagh; but I was of course acquainted with them, and I have a perfect recollection that not a word was said as to remuneration at that time. I have thought it necessary to make this explanation that you may be informed how decided an impression I have that your father's information was given without any previous stipulation whatever, as, so far as my assertion in the mode in which I can give the information can be useful, I am quite ready to state it; but I wish to look at some papers which I believe I have in London, respecting those times (1798), before I write to you definitively. I have stated in my place in Parliament, and I have never concealed at any time, the sense I had of the great service your father rendered the State."

On the 22nd of September his Lordship again wrote to my brother; and the following extract from that letter will show that, upon reference to his private correspondence with the Duke of Portland, then at the head of the Administration, his recollection of the substance was quite correct. His Lordship says, "That since his former letter he had referred to that correspondence, and found that, though mention is made of the sort of information my father meant to give, his name is not mentioned. All the notice taken is, that Mr. Cope mentions the nature of the information a person could give, but does not state the name of the person who could give it." And in a subsequent letter, dated January 8th, 1837, his Lordship again affords (to

use his own words) “ a testimony of his willingness to do that justice to our family which my late father’s merits deserved from those who witnessed his services.”

Surely it is not too much to assume, that noblemen of the Marquis Camden’s high rank and character, that gentlemen of all ranks and classes, who, from their stations in society, and in places of authority, had every opportunity of intimate knowledge of my father’s character and conduct, would not have continued for the space of forty years to address him in the tone of esteem, of friendship, of consideration, and of respect, exhibited by the writers of the letters contained in these pages ; and that the highest among them all would not have repeated to my father’s family after his death the strongly-worded and unequivocal expression of approbation and good-will contained in the above extracts, had he been, I will not say the degraded and infamous person he has been painted by the organs of a defeated faction, but had there been the slightest equivocal taint upon his character or conduct.

Governments unfortunately conceive themselves compelled in certain circumstances to make use of hired spies and informers, and other mean, degraded, and dirty instruments ; they also pay them their stipulated reward ; but we do not find the individual members of such governments hugging the tools to their bosoms—we do not find them addressing their vile instruments as their dear friends and respected correspondents when their services are no longer wanted—we do not find them carrying on a friendly correspondence for little

short of half a century, and continuing to afford the strongest testimonies of good opinion and good-will to their families after them, on account of the merits of such tools.

By the ancient custom of England a man accused of crime might clear himself by producing *compurgators*, men of undoubted integrity, having an intimate knowledge of the character and conduct of the accused, who were willing to bear testimony to their belief of his innocence.

Here, then, are my father's compurgators—I have here produced witnesses in such numbers, and of such rank, station, and character, as must render it impossible for any impartial man to believe that his conduct could have been in any respect dishonourable, whatever judgment may be formed of his prudence and foresight. But I have not rested his defence upon these noble testimonials, as I well might have done—I have laid bare to the public his inmost thoughts, feelings, and motives, and I trust that I have so exhibited their connexion with his actions as to show beyond the power of contradiction that in all his words and deeds he was moved only by the most earnest desire to do his duty to God and man, to his king and to his country, as became a good Christian—an honest upright man—a loyal subject—and a true patriot. If I have failed, the fault is entirely in my execution. I trust that hereafter an historian will arise both able and willing to do more effective justice to my father's character and conduct; and I humbly hope that these Memoirs, if in other

respects they are valueless, will afford to such an one a clue to guide him to the truth.

I know there are men whom no evidence, however clear, will convince, because they are determined not to be convinced. One of these persons, who will perhaps recognise himself if these pages should meet his eye, observed, on seeing some of the letters herein transcribed, "I had rather believe all the writers of these letters to be villains than believe Mr. Reynolds to be an honest man." For such men I do not write; their good or bad opinion is alike indifferent to me: but I write for honest men of all parties—for men who will fairly and impartially attend to evidence, and decide solely on the broad principles of justice; for them and for posterity I write, and for them only, and I am satisfied to stand or fall by their unbiased verdict.

My task is now accomplished, and I quit my pen with feelings of unfeigned regret. Since the day I lost my father, whom I loved with no common affection, I have been so entirely occupied with these Memoirs, that he has been in a manner always present with me, and, now that they are drawing to a close, I feel as if I were again parting with him. Other thoughts agitate my mind also. I know his cause is good, but I fear I have not been a good advocate. His wrongs demand an abler pen than mine—a more devoted one they could not have. From the Public, to whom I now appeal, I have no boon to ask, but indulgence for the *manner*, strict and impartial scrutiny for the *matter*.

A P P E N D I X.

No. I.

THE CIVIL and MILITARY ARTICLES of LIMERICK, exactly printed from the Letters-patent, wherein they are ratified and exemplified by their Majesties, under the Great Seal of England.

Gulielmus et Maria, Dei gratia, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, rex et regina, fidei defensores, &c. Omnibus ad quos præsentēs literæ nostræ pervenerint salutem: inspeximus irrotulament. quarund. literarum patentium de confirmatione geren. dat. apud Westmonasterium vicesimo quarto die Februarii, ultimi præteriti in cancellar. nostr. irrotulat. ac ibidem de recordo remanen. in hæc verba. William and Mary, by the Grace of God, &c. Whereas certain articles, bearing date the third day of October last past, made and agreed on between our Justices of our kingdom of Ireland, and our General of our forces there, on the one part; and several officers there commanding within the city of Limerick, in our said kingdom, on the other part. Whereby our said Justices and General did undertake that we should ratify those articles within the space of eight months, or sooner, and use their utmost endeavours that the same should be ratified and confirmed in Parliament. The tenor of which said articles is as follows, viz. :—

Articles agreed upon the third day of October, one thousand six hundred and ninety-one.

Between the Right Hon. Sir Charles Porter, knight, and Thomas Conningsby, esq., Lords Justices of Ireland; and his Excellency the Baron de Ginckle, Lieutenant-general and Commander-in-Chief of the English army, on the one part:

And the Right Hon. Patrick Earl of Lucan, Piercy Viscount Gallmoy, Colonel Nicholas Purcell, Colonel Nicholas

Cusack, Sir Toby Butler, Colonel Garret Dillon, and Colonel John Brown, on the other part:

In the behalf of the Irish inhabitants in the city and county of Limerick, the counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligo, and Mayo.

In consideration of the surrender of the city of Limerick, and other agreements made between the said Lieutenant-general Ginckle, the governour of the city of Limerick, and the generals of the Irish army, bearing date with these presents, for the surrender of the said city, and submission of the said army: it is agreed; That,

I. The Roman Catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles II.: and their Majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a Parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics such further security in that particular as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion.

II. All the inhabitants or residents of Limerick, or any other garrison now in the possession of the Irish, and all officers and soldiers, now in arms, under any commission of King James, or those authorized by him to grant the same in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, or any of them; and all the commissioned officers in their Majesties quarters, that belong to the Irish regiments, now in being, that are treated with, and who are not prisoners of war, or have taken protection, and who shall return and submit to their Majesties obedience; and their and every of their heirs, shall hold, possess, and enjoy, all and every their estates of freehold and inheritance; and all the rights, titles and interests, privileges and immunities, which they, and every or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully intitled to, in the reign of King Charles II., or at any time since, by the laws and statutes that were in force in the said reign of King Charles II., and shall be put in possession by order of the Government, of such of them as are in the King's hands, or the hands of his tenants, without being put to any suit or trouble therein; and all such estates shall be freed and discharged from all arrears of crown-rents, quit-rents, and other public charges, incurred and become due since Michaelmas 1688, to the day of the date hereof: and all persons comprehended in

this article, shall have, hold, and enjoy all their goods and chattles, real and personal, to them, or any of them belonging, and remaining either in their own hands, or the hands of any persons whatsoever, in trust for, or for the use of them, or any of them: and all, and every the said persons, of what profession, trade, or calling soever they be, shall and may use, exercise, and practice their several and respective professions, trades, and callings, as freely as they did use, exercise, and enjoy the same in the reign of King Charles II., provided that nothing in the article contained be construed to extend to, or restore any forfeiting person now out of the kingdom, except what are hereafter comprised: Provided also, that no person whatsoever shall have or enjoy the benefit of this article, that shall neglect or refuse to take the oath of allegiance, made by Act of Parliament in England, in the first year of the reign of their present Majesties, when thereunto required.

III. All merchants, or reputed merchants, of the city of Limerick, or of any other garrison now possessed by the Irish, or of any town or place in the counties of Clare, or Kerry, who are absent beyond the seas, that have not borne arms since their Majesties declaration in February 1688, shall have the benefit of the second article, in the same manner as if they were present; provided such merchants, and reputed merchants, do repair into this kingdom within the space of eight months from the date hereof.

IV. The following officers, viz., Colonel Simon Lutterel, Captain Rowland White, Maurice Eustace, of Yermanstown, Chievers, of Maystown, commonly called Mount Leinster, now belonging to the regiments in the aforesaid garrisons and quarters of the Irish army, who were beyond the seas, and sent thither upon affairs of their respective regiments, or the army in general, shall have the benefit and advantage of the second article, provided they return hither within the space of eight months from the date of these presents, and submit to their Majesties Government, and take the above-mentioned oath.

V. That all and singular the said persons comprised in the second and third articles, shall have a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprisions of treason, premunires, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanors whatsoever, by them, or any of them, committed since the beginning of the reign of King James II., and if any of them are attainted by Parliament, the Lords Justices,

and General, will use their best endeavours to get the same repealed by Parliament, and the outlawries to be reversed gratis, all but writing-clerks' fees.

VI. And whereas these present wars have drawn on great violences on both parts; and that if leave were given to the bringing all sorts of private actions, the animosities would probably continue, that have been too long on foot, and the public disturbances last: for the quieting and settling therefore of this kingdom, and avoiding those inconveniences which would be the necessary consequence of the contrary, no person or persons whatsoever, comprised in the foregoing articles, shall be sued, molested, or impleaded, at the suit of any party or parties whatsoever, for any trespasses by them committed, or for any arms, horses, money, goods, chattles, merchandizes, or provisions whatsoever, by them seized or taken during the time of the war. And no person or persons whatsoever, in the second or third articles comprised, shall be sued, impleaded, or made accountable for the rents or mean rates of any lands, tenements, or houses, by him or them received, or enjoyed in this kingdom, since the beginning of the present war to the day of the date hereof, nor for any waste or trespass by him or them committed in any such lands, tenements, or houses: and it is also agreed, that this article shall be mutual and reciprocal on both sides.

VII. Every nobleman and gentleman comprised in the said second and third article, shall have liberty to ride with a sword and a case of pistols, if they think fit; and keep a gun in their houses for the defence of the same, or for fowling.

VIII. The inhabitants and residents in the city of Limerick, and other garrisons, shall be permitted to remove their goods, chattles, and provisions, out of the same, without being viewed and searched, or paying any manner of duties, and shall not be compelled to leave the houses or lodgings they now have for the space of six weeks next ensuing the date hereof.

IX. The oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics as submit to their Majesties Government, shall be the oath above said, and no other.

X. No person, or persons, who shall at any time hereafter break these articles, or any of them, shall thereby make, or cause any other person, or persons, to forfeit or lose the benefit of the same.

XI. The Lords Justices and General do promise to use

their utmost endeavours, that all the persons comprehended in the above-mentioned articles, shall be protected and defended from all arrests and executions for debt or damage, for the space of eight months next ensuing the date hereof.

XII. Lastly, the Lords Justices and General do undertake that their Majesties will ratify these articles within the space of eight months, or sooner, and use their utmost endeavours that the same shall be ratified and confirmed in Parliament.

XIII. And whereas Colonel John Brown stood indebted to several Protestants, by judgments of record, which appearing to the late Government, the Lord Tyrconnel and Lord Lucan took away the effects the said John Brown had to answer the said debts, and promised to clear the said John Brown of the said debts; which effects were taken for the public use of the Irish and their army: for freeing the said Lord Lucan of his said engagement, past on their public account for payment of the said Protestants, and for preventing the ruin of the said John Brown, and for satisfaction of his creditors, at the instance of the Lord Lucan and the rest of the persons aforesaid, it is agreed, that the said Lords Justices, and the said Baron de Ginckle, shall interceed with the King and Parliament to have the estates secured to Roman Catholics, by articles and capitulation in this kingdom, charged with, and equally liable to, the payment of so much of the said debts, as the said Lord Lucan, upon stating accompts with the said John Brown, shall certify under his hand, that the effects taken from the said Brown amount unto; which accompt is to be stated, and the balance certified by the said Lord Lucan, in one and twenty days after the date hereof.

For the true performance hereof we have hereunto set our hands. Present,

SCRAVEMORE.
H. MACCAY.
T. TALMASH.

CHAR. PORTER.
THO. CONINGSBY.
BAR. DE GINCKLE.

And whereas the said city of Limerick hath been since, in pursuance of the said articles, surrendered unto us: Now, know ye, that we, having considered of the said articles, are graciously pleased hereby to declare that we do for us, our heirs and successors, as far as in us lies, ratify and confirm the same, and every clause, matter, and thing, therein contained. And as to such parts thereof, for which an Act of Parliament shall be found to be necessary, we shall recom-

mend the same to be made good by Parliament, and shall give our royal assent to any bill, or bills, that shall be passed, by our two Houses of Parliament, to that purpose. And whereas it appears unto us, that it was agreed between the parties to the said articles, that after the words, Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo, or any of them, in the second of the said articles, the words following, viz. :—" And all such as are under their protection in the said counties," should be inserted, and be part of the said articles. Which words having been casually omitted by the writer, the omission was not discovered till after the said articles were signed, but was taken notice of before the second town was surrendered: and that our said Justices and General, or one of them, did promise that the said clause should be made good, it being within the intention of the capitulation, and inserted in the foul draught thereof. Our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby ratify and confirm the said omitted words, viz. :—" And all such as are under their protection in the said counties," hereby for us, our heirs and successors, ordaining and declaring, that all and every person and persons therein concerned, shall and may have, receive, and enjoy the benefit thereof, in such and the same manner as if the said words had been inserted in their proper place in the said second article; any omission, defect, or mistake in the said second article, in anywise notwithstanding: Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, that these, our letters-patents, shall be enrolled in our Court of Chancery, in our said kingdom of Ireland, within the space of one year next ensuing. In witness, &c. Witness ourself at Westminster, the twenty-fourth day of February, anno regni regis et reginæ Gulielmi et Mariæ quarto per breve de privato sigillo. Nos autem tenorem premissor. predict. Ad requisitionem attornat. general. domini regis et dominæ reginæ pro regno Hiberniæ. Duximus exemplificand. per presentes. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Testibus nobis ipsis apud Westmon. quinto die Aprilis annoq. regni eorum quarto.

BRIDGES.

Examinat.	{ S. KECK.	} In Cancel.
per nos	{ LACON WM. CHILDE.	

MILITARY ARTICLES agreed upon between the Baron de Ginckle, Lieutenant-general and Commander-in-Chief of the English army, on the one side :

And the Lieutenant-generals De Ussoon and De Tesse, Commanders-in-Chief of the Irish army, on the other ; and the general officers hereunto subscribing.

I. That all persons without any exceptions, of what quality or condition soever, that are willing to leave the kingdom of Ireland, shall have free liberty to go to any country beyond the seas (England and Scotland excepted) where they think fit, with their families, household-stuff, plate, and jewels.

II. That all general officers, colonels, and generally all other officers of horse, dragoons, and foot-guards, troopers, dragooners, soldiers of all kinds that are in any garrison, place, or post, now in the hands of the Irish, or encamped in the counties of Cork, Clare, and Kerry, as also those called Rapparees, or volunteers, that are willing to go beyond seas as aforesaid, shall have free leave to embark themselves wherever the ships are that are appointed to transport them, and to come in whole bodies as they are now composed, or in parties, companies, or otherwise, without having any impediment, directly or indirectly.

III. That all persons above mentioned, that are willing to leave Ireland and go into France, shall have leave to declare it at the times and places hereafter mentioned, viz., the troops in Limerick on Tuesday next in Limerick ; the horse at their camp on Wednesday, and the other forces that are dispersed in the counties of Clare, Kerry, and Cork, on the 8th instant, and on none other, before Monsieur Tameron, the French intendant, and Colonel Withers ; and after such declaration is made, the troops that will go into France must remain under the command and discipline of their officers that are to conduct them thither : and deserters of each side shall be given up, and punished accordingly.

IV. That all English and Scotch officers that serve now in Ireland shall be included in this capitulation, as well for the security of their estates and goods in England, Scotland, and Ireland (if they are willing to remain here), as for passing freely into France, or any other country to serve.

V. That all the general French officers, the intendant, the engineers, the commissaries of war, and of the artillery, the treasurer, and other French officers, strangers, and all others

whatsoever, that are in Sligo, Ross, Clare, or in the army, or that do trade or commerce, or are otherways employed in any kind of station or condition, shall have free leave to pass into France, or any other country, and shall have leave to ship themselves, with all their horses, equipage, plate, papers, and all their effects whatever; and that General Ginckle will order passports for them, convoys, and carriages by land and water, to carry them safe from Limerick to the ships where they shall be embarked, without paying anything for the said carriages, or to those that are employed therein, with their horses, cars, boats, and shallops.

VI. That if any of the aforesaid equipages, merchandize, horses, money, plate, or other movables, or household-stuff, belonging to the said Irish troops, or to the French officers, or other particular persons whatsoever, be robbed, destroyed, or taken away by the troops of the said General, the said General will order it to be restored, or payment to be made according to the value that is given in upon oath by the person so robbed or plundered; and the said Irish troops to be transported as aforesaid: and all other persons belonging to them are to observe good order in their march and quarters, and shall restore whatever they shall take from the country, or make restitution for the same.

VII. That to facilitate the transporting the said troops, the General will furnish fifty ships, each ship's burthen two hundred tons, for which the persons to be transported shall not be obliged to pay, and twenty more, if there shall be occasion, without their paying for them; and if any of the said ships shall be of lesser burthen, he will furnish more in number to countervail; and also give two men of war to embark the principal officers, and serve as a convoy to the vessels of burthen.

VIII. That a commissary shall be immediately sent to Cork to visit the transport ships, and what condition they are in for sailing; and that as soon as they are ready the troops to be transported shall march, with all convenient speed, the nearest way in order to embark there; and if there shall be any more men to be transported than can be carried off in the said fifty ships, the rest shall quit the English town of Limerick, and march to such quarters as shall be appointed for them, convenient for their transportation, where they shall remain till the other twenty ships be ready, which are to be in a month, and may embark on any French ship that may come in the mean time.

IX. That the said ships shall be furnished with forage for horse, and all necessary provisions to subsist the officers, troops, dragoons, and soldiers, and all other persons that are shipped to be transported into France; which provisions shall be paid for as soon as all are disembarked at Brest or Nantes, upon the coast of Brittany, or any other part of France they can make.

X. And to secure the return of the said ships (the danger of the seas excepted) and payment for the said provisions, sufficient hostages shall be given.

XI. That the garrisons of Clare-castle, Ross, and all other foot that are in garrisons in the counties of Clare, Cork, and Kerry, shall have the advantage of this present capitulation; and such part of those garrisons as design to go beyond seas shall march out with their arms, baggage, drums beating, ball in mouth, match lighted at both ends, and colours flying, with all the provisions, and half the ammunition that is in the said garrisons, and join the horse that march to be transported; or if then there is not shipping enough for the body of foot that is to be next transported after the horse, General Ginckle will order that they be furnished with carriages for that purpose, and what provisions they shall want in their march, they paying for the said provisions, or else that they may take it out of their own magazines.

XII. That all the troops of horse and dragoons that are in the counties of Cork, Kerry, and Clare shall also have the benefit of this capitulation; and that such as will pass into France shall have quarters given them in the counties of Clare and Kerry, apart from the troops that are commanded by General Ginckle, until they can be shipped; and within their quarters they shall pay for every thing, except forage and pasture for their horses, which shall be furnished gratis.

XIII. Those of the garrison of Sligo that are joined to the Irish army shall have the benefit of this capitulation; and orders shall be sent to them that are to convey them up, to bring them hither to Limerick the shortest way.

XIV. The Irish may have liberty to transport nine hundred horse, including horses for the officers, which shall be transported gratis; and as for the troopers that stay behind they shall dispose of themselves as they shall think fit, giving up their horses and arms to such persons as the General shall appoint.

XV. It shall be permitted to those that are appointed to take care for the subsistence of the horse, that are willing to go to France, to buy hay and corn at the King's rates wherever they can find it, in the quarters that are assigned for them, without any let or molestation, and to carry all necessary provisions out of the city of Limerick; and for this purpose the General will furnish convenient carriages for them to the places where they shall be embarked.

XVI. It shall be lawful to make use of the hay preserved in the stores of the county of Kerry, for the horses that shall be embarked; and, if there be not enough, it shall be lawful to buy hay and oats wherever it shall be found, at the King's rates.

XVII. That all prisoners of war that were in Ireland the 28th of September shall be set at liberty on both sides; and the General promises to use his endeavours that those that are in England and Flanders shall be set at liberty also.

XVIII. The General will cause provisions and medicines to be furnished to the sick and wounded officers, troopers, dragoons, and soldiers of the Irish army that cannot pass into France at the first embarkment; and after they are cured will order them ships to pass into France, if they are willing to go.

XIX. That at the signing hereof, the General will send a ship express to France; and that besides, he will furnish two small ships of those that are now in the river of Limerick, to transport two persons into France that are to be sent to give notice of this treaty, and that the commanders of said ships shall have orders to put ashore at the next port of France where they shall make.

XX. That all those of the said troops, officers, and others, of what character soever, that would pass into France, shall not be stopped upon the account of debt, or any other pretext.

XXI. If after signing this present treaty, and before the arrival of the fleet, a French packet-boat, or other transport-ship, shall arrive from France in any other part of Ireland, the General will order a passport, not only for such as must go on board the said ships, but to the ships to come to the nearest port, to the place where the troops to be transported shall be quartered.

XXII. That after the arrival of the said fleet, there shall be free communication and passage between it and the

quarters of the above said troops; and especially, for all those that have passes from the chief commanders of the said fleet, or from Monsieur Tameron, the intendant.

XXIII. In consideration of the present capitulation, the two towns of Limerick shall be delivered and put into the hands of the General, or any other person he shall appoint, at the time and day hereafter specified, viz., the Irish town, excepting the magazines and hospital, on the day of the signing of these present articles; and 'as for the English town, it shall remain, together with the island, and the free passage of Thomond-Bridge, in the hands of those of the Irish army that are now in the garrison, or that shall hereafter come from the counties of Cork, Clare, Kerry, Sligo, and other places above mentioned, until there shall be convenience found for their transportation.

XXIV. And to prevent all disorders that may happen between the garrison that the General shall place in the Irish town, which shall be delivered to him, and the Irish troopers that shall remain in the English town and the island, which they may do, until the troops embarked on the first fifty ships shall be gone for France, and no longer; they shall intrench themselves on both sides, to hinder the communication of the said garrisons: and it shall be prohibited on both sides, to offer anything that is offensive; and the parties offending shall be punished on either side.

XXV. That it shall be lawful for the said garrison to march out all at once, or at different times, as they can be embarked, with arms, baggage, drums beating, match lighted at both ends, bullet in mouth, colours flying, six brass guns, such as the besieged will chuse, two mortar-pieces, and half the ammunition that is now in the magazines of the said place: and for this purpose an inventory of all the ammunition in the garrison shall be made in the presence of any person that the General shall appoint, the next day after these present articles shall be signed.

XXVI. All the magazines of provisions shall remain in the hands of those that are now employed to take care of the same, for the subsistence of those of the Irish army that will pass into France: and if there shall not be sufficient in the stores, for the support of the said troops, whilst they stay in this kingdom, and are crossing the seas, that, upon giving up an account of their numbers, the General will furnish them with sufficient provisions, at the King's rates; and that there shall be a free market at Limerick, and other

quarters, where the said troops shall be; and in case any provision shall remain in the magazines of Limerick when the town shall be given up, it shall be valued, and the price deducted out of what is to be paid for the provisions to be furnished to the troops on ship-board.

XXVII. That there shall be a cessation of arms at land, as also at sea, with respect to the ships, whether English, Dutch, or French, designed for the transportation of the said troops, until they shall be returned to their respective harbours; and that on both sides they shall be furnished with sufficient passports both for ships and men: and if any sea-commander, or captain of a ship, or any officer, trooper, dragoon, soldier, or any other person, shall act contrary to this cessation, the persons so acting shall be punished on either side, and satisfaction shall be made for the wrong that is done; and officers shall be sent to the mouth of the river of Limerick, to give notice to the commanders of the English and French fleets of the present conjuncture, that they may observe the cessation of arms accordingly.

XXVIII. That for the security of the execution of this present capitulation, and of each article therein contained, the besieged shall give the following hostages ———. And the General shall give ———.

XXIX. If, before the capitulation is fully executed, there happens any change in the government, or command of the army, which is now commanded by General Ginckle, all those that shall be appointed to command the same, shall be obliged to observe and execute what is specified in these articles, or cause it to be executed punctually, and shall not act contrary on any account.

Octob. 91.

BARON DE GINCKLE.

No. II.

1.

By one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for said county and city.

County of the city of Kilkenny, } The information of Mat-
to wit. } thias O'Brien, of the said
 city of Kilkenny; in said county, popish priest, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, deposeth,—That the late tumultuous risings of the Whiteboys, which prevailed in the southern parts of this kingdom, were set on foot for

the sole end and purpose, to informant's certain knowledge, in order to raise therein a spirit of sedition and dissatisfaction to his Majesty's person and government, which might be of use to support a foreign invasion, certainly intended against this kingdom at a convenient time, in favour of Prince Charles, otherwise the Pretender to these realms; and that the causes commonly alleged for these risings by the said Whiteboys were but mere pretences, and calculated entirely to conceal the above secret designs. Informant deposeth, that these disorders were fomented originally by foreign agents, in conjunction with some popish bishops, particularly Doctor James Butler, titular archbishop of Cashel (in whose house, or chapel, there were papers of a treasonable nature concealed), and others of his clergy, assisted by several principal gentlemen of the same persuasion. That informant was early apprised from his station, then as coadjutor to the aforesaid Doctor Butler, of their dangerous schemes against his Majesty's crown and the established government of this kingdom, which they did at that time, and do still, as he verily believes, mean to overturn, and which they would have long since more openly attempted to execute but for the timely notice thereof he often, from time to time, gave to the Reverend John Hewetson, of Suirville, a justice of peace for said county, and whose life he more than once saved in his chair of confession, by dissuading his determined and combined assassins from their bloody purposes against him. That informant is fully convinced upon different grounds (but which, as being confided upon the solemnities of confession from some of the insurgents, and secrecy, he thinks he cannot, consistent with his obligation as a priest, divulge), that the above spirit of sedition would have broke out long since to an open and armed rebellion were it not for the zealous and indefatigable labours of the said John Hewetson and William Bagenal, esquire, who, by the spirit and activity they exerted in detecting, apprehending, and bringing to justice some of the chief leaders of these insurrections, checked and suspended for a time their bad designs. And he deposeth in the most solemn manner that this same rebellious spirit still subsists among those deluded people, as it evidently appears from their frequent nocturnal meetings, held, by informant's certain knowledge, within these eight or nine weeks past in and about Callan, and other parts of this county, where informant saw some of the said insurgents clad in their

white uniforms. Informant is also certain that this same rebellious spirit will never cease in this kingdom, among the aforesaid insurgents, if some speedy and efficacious means be not used to prevent it. Informant saith that his reason for knowing the said schemes and designs to be true is, that the said Doctor Butler did solemnly bind him to the following oath:—"To be true and faithful to the church of Rome, and to promote its good, and to be faithful to him the said Doctor Butler, his archbishop." That after signing said promise in a book belonging to said Butler, he was told by him, the said Butler, that these risings of the Whiteboys were set on foot solely for the advancement of the Roman Catholic faith, and the extirpation of heresy in this kingdom, and that, as there was but one God, there should be but one religion; and to restore the same *vetus Hibernia*, by making her faithful sons to rise in rebellion to support France or other countries, to establish Prince Charles on the British throne. And that he, the said Butler, then toasted his health in the company present, who were privy to the conspiracy. Informant saith he hath no other motive for discovering said conspiracy but to preserve peace, and to prevent the effusion of blood in this kingdom.

MATTHIAS O'BRIEN.

Sworn before me this 24th of January 1768,

THOMAS BUTLER,

— *Mayor of Kilkenny.*

In another information Matthias O'Brien swore that Doctor Butler, titular archbishop of Cashel, assured him that the cause of the Whiteboys was the cause of God and their holy religion, undertaken to restore Prince Charles to the throne of his ancestors, and their ancient faith to its primitive purity. That informant knew that the late Nicholas Sheehy was chiefly supported by the said Butler, and that large contributions were frequently made for him; informant and the rest of the popish clergy having been taxed for that purpose by the said Butler, which the Reverend Mr. Magher, a convert to the Protestant religion, can certify from his own knowledge. That informant saw and read a letter at the chapel of Thurles, said to have been written and signed by Count Taaffe, and addressed to Doctor Fitzsimons, titular archbishop of Dublin, and transmitted to the said James Butler, importing that a popish college should soon be erected in Dublin. That the said James Butler

extorted a sum of money from informant and the rest of his clergy, and from the Reverend Mr. Maſher, who afterwards became a convert to Protestantism, under the pretext of establishing said popish seminary, but for the sole purpose, as informant believes, of supporting the Whiteboys. That informant was told by James Fogerty, of Thurles, merchant, that he brought from Dublin a large sum of money, which he delivered to said James Butler, and that he understood from said Fogerty that the said money was to promote the said rebellious purposes. That informant, from his ministerial functions as a priest these four years past, has full and sufficient reasons to be convinced that the grand scheme of all these insurrections of the Whiteboys, in these and the neighbouring counties, was to raise a general rebellion against his Majesty and the established government of this kingdom. and to massacre all the Protestants therein at a certain hour.

.2.

By one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for said county.

County of Kilkenny, } The information of David Landregin,
to wit. } late of Roxborough, in the county of
 Tipperary, but now of Aglish, in the county of Kilkenny,
 who, being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, deposeth,
 That some time in the month of March 1762 he was enlisted
 in the society of Whiteboys, at Newcastle, in the county of
 Tipperary, by Mr. Robert Keating, of Knocka, in said
 county, gentleman, and sworn by him at the same time to
 take the following oath:—"To be true and faithful to the
 King of France, and to the true king, Prince Charles, and
 to obey all the orders of his officers, and not to disclose his
 secrets to any one, except to a Frenchman, or one of his own
 party." That he told informant that the object they had in
 view was to collect an army together in this kingdom sufficient
 to raise a rebellion against an invasion which they
 expected from France, with Prince Charles, their rightful
 sovereign, at their head, and for whom they were to conquer
 England, Ireland, and Scotland. And that he told informant
 they had powerful friends in England and Scotland,
 who would cause and foment risings in said kingdoms for
 such end. That a strong French army would make a
 descent in these kingdoms at the same time that they would

invade Ireland. That therefore the Whiteboys must keep well and faithfully together against said event. That informant made many expeditions by night on the lands of Drumlemmon, Ardfinnan, and Fethard, in the county of Tipperary, under the command of said Robert Keating and others, who were mounted, armed, and dressed in white uniforms, together with the late Nicholas Sheehy, Edmond Sheehy, James Buxton, and James Farrell. That said Robert Keating and James Butler drew out their troop and disciplined them at such places. That some time after informant was present at a meeting held at the house of Thomas Browne, of Clonmell, aleseller, together with said Robert Keating, James Butler, and one Patrick Gilbert, farmer, who all took an oath to put to death, the first time an opportunity offered, the Earl of Carrick, Sir Thomas Maude, baronet, John Bagwell, esquire, and the Reverend John Hewetson, who were the only enemies they dreaded to their rebellious designs, and that informant took said oath. That at another meeting held at the house of one Ronan, innkeeper, at Ardfinnan, informant saw said Nicholas Sheehy, Edmond Sheehy, James Buxton, James Farrell, and many others, take the same oath. Informant saith that the execution of said Nicholas Sheehy, and the rest of his friends, has been the means of saving the lives of the said persons, whom they swore to assassinate. Informant saith he was present at a meeting held at the race-course of Clogheen on the night of the day that the Earl of Drogheda came there, and that five hundred persons, all in white uniforms, were present, and most of them were armed; and that said meeting was held in the spring, some time before the French took Newfoundland. That at said meeting it was proposed to them, by said Nicholas Sheehy and others, to burn the said town and to massacre the said Earl and the corps under his command, in order to get their arms, and to frighten the Protestant gentlemen from pursuing them, or giving them any further hindrance in their future purposes. Informant saith that they would have executed the said design but that John Doyle, popish priest, of Ardfinnan, prevented them, by falling on his knees and giving them his curse if they undertook what must occasion their own ruin, "for," he said, "we are not ripe yet for such a blow, nor can we till Prince Charles and his friends from France land to our assistance; if you attempt it before that time every Protestant in Ireland will be up in arms against us, and give no quarter to

man, woman, or child, of our religion." Whereupon they desisted.

DAVID LANDREGIN.

Sworn before me the 15th of March, 1767,

JOHN HEWETSON.

Present, DANIEL OSBORNE.

3.

County of Kilkenny, } The information of Thomas Rawley, of
to wit. } Killenaul, in the county of Tipperary,
 farmer, who, being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, and
 examined, deposeth, That, some time in the year of our
 Lord 1763, he was enlisted among the Whiteboys by Mr.
 Edmond Quinn, of Myre, in said county, farmer, and sworn
 to the following oath: "To be true and faithful to the King
 of France and Prince Charles, and to obey all the orders of
 his commanding officers;" that he, said Quinn, then gave
 your informant half-a-guinea, and told him he was his colonel,
 and that their scheme was to raise a rebellion in Ireland, in
 order to support a French invasion, which they expected,
 with Prince Charles, their right king, at their head, to re-
 lieve the Roman Catholics, and to make this kingdom their
 own; that some short time after he met said Quinn in
 Thurles, and was conducted by him to the house of James
 Butler, titular archbishop of Cashel, and in his company;
 that, after being introduced to him, said Butler, the servant
 was sent out of the way, and then said Butler took a book
 out of his pocket, and re-swore your informant as before,
 viz., to be true and faithful to the King of France, and to
 his right King Charles, and to obey the orders of his com-
 manding officers in all things; that he then gave your in-
 formant some claret, and afterwards dismissed him with his
 blessing for that time; that your informant continued a
 twelvemonth after in the service of the Whiteboys, until
 he was apprehended and lodged in Clonmell gaol, and
 brought to his trial for high treason and rebellion against
 his Majesty, for which, though guilty, he was publicly ac-
 quitted; that, after his acquittal and enlargement, he went
 to see the aforesaid James Butler (by whom he was very
 kindly received, and also supported whilst in confinement);
 that, after refreshment given to him by said Butler, he was
 sent by him to the late Nicholas Sheehy, with a purse of
 gold from him, said Butler, with this message, "That he

had only received this money from Dublin the day before, else he would have sent it to him sooner." Your informant further deposeth that the aforesaid Butler did then assure him that they soon should have Ireland in their own hands, and they would certainly be supported by an invasion from France, with Prince Charles at their head; and hereupon he dismissed him upon his errand, first giving him an English crown to bear his expenses; that he went directly thence to Nicholas Sheehy, and found him at his sister's house, at Shanbally, and there he delivered to him said Butler's letter and purse of gold; which letter having read, he then turned immediately afterwards, in your informant's presence, poured on the table said gold, consisting of forty pieces, and guineas to the amount of about thirty. Your informant deposeth further, that it was resolved upon, at a meeting of the Whiteboys at Myre aforesaid, to burn the houses of the Protestants of Ireland, and to massacre them in one night, after a landing made by the French, as was expected. Your informant further deposeth he is thoroughly convinced said massacre and rebellion are not yet over, because he was very lately invited by the said Edmond Quinn to join him and his friends in further intended risings, for the above purposes, which he is certain are again set on foot, by means of the aforesaid James Butler, John Kirkby, of Ballyna, near Killaloe, and Edmond Quinn aforesaid, and also by Daniel Cavenagh, of the county of Kilkenny, gentleman. Your informant deposeth, that he is sure the aforesaid rebellion and massacre would have long since taken place but for the interposition of the Earl of Carrick and the Reverend John Hewitson.

THOMAS RAWLEY.

Sworn before me 7th March 1767,

JOHN HEWETSON.

4.

County of Tipperary, } The information of Mr. James Farrell,
to wit. } of Rehill, in said county, gentleman,
 who, being duly sworn and examined upon oath, in the presence of Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt, Major Lyons, Captain Thomas Walmsley, and Daniel Toler, esquire, high sheriff of said county, declareth, That he was enlisted into the society of Whiteboys by the late Nicholas Sheehy, popish priest, under the oath of allegiance and fidelity to

the King of France and Prince Charles; that he received his commission as a major in their service, signed by the French king, as he believeth, and also his pay regularly, in consequence of said commission; that the real end and design for which said society was set on foot was, as he was credibly informed, and now verily believes, to raise a rebellion in Ireland, in order to support an invasion from France, actually intended against these kingdoms, with a view to restore Prince Charles to the throne of these realms, and to overturn the present constitution, both in church and state; that the heads of said rebellion are James Butler, titular archbishop of Cashel, Pierce Creagh, titular bishop of Waterford, Doctor Butler, titular bishop of Cork, and Doctor Fitzsimons, titular archbishop of Dublin, Heley, popish priest of Arraglin, Doyle, popish priest of Ardfinnan, and several others of the popish clergy; together with Robert Keating, of Knocka, James Nagle, of Garrena-villa, Thomas Dogherty, of Ballynamona, Edmund Sheehy, of the Lodge, Martin Murphy, and Philip Long, of the city of Waterford, merchants, each of whom usually supplied said Nicholas Sheehy with money to pay said Whiteboys, and to support their insurrections; that informant frequently received money for said purpose from said Martin Murphy and Philip Long, particularly from the former, who was agent to Lord Cahir, from whom informant held some land, and allowed him his rent regularly in part payment of his pay; that, to informant's certain knowledge, several thousand pounds were expended for the above purpose, and that particularly at one meeting, held on the lands of Drumlemon, he saw two thousand guineas distributed to the several persons there assembled, which they had received from the above merchants for the above purpose; that at said meeting informant saw a bull produced by said Nicholas Sheehy, which he said came directly from the Pope, and was read publicly by said Sheehy, and that it granted a plenary pardon and indulgence to such of the insurgents as chose to conform to the Protestant religion, in order the better to carry on and execute their glorious enterprise, and to restore the pure and holy Catholic religion in its full vigour and strength in Ireland. Informant saith there are at present fifteen thousand men embodied for the above purpose, from the muster-roll of their numbers kept by informant, and that most of them are armed. Informant saith he is thoroughly convinced that this spirit of insurrection never will totally cease in this kingdom unless speedy

and effectual means are made use of by Government to prevent the intended mischief.

JAMES FARRELL.

Sworn before me this 18th day of April 1766,

JOHN HEWETSON.

5.

We, the foreman and grand jury of the county of Dublin, at the assizes held at Kilmainham for said county, on the twenty-ninth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven, being convinced that the late riots and insurrections in the southern parts of this kingdom were fomented as well by the foreign as domestic enemies of our happy constitution in church and state, in order to overturn the same, and that their pretences of tithes and other grievances were only imaginary, and formed to cover their settled intention of rising in actual rebellion against his Majesty's sacred person and Government, and having an utter abhorrence of such treasonable practices, think we should be remiss in our duty to our country if we did not in the most public manner express our approbation of the actions of those worthy magistrates and others who daily hazarded their lives in defence of their country, and that it was, under God, owing to the care, conduct, and spirit exerted by those magistrates that this kingdom was not a scene of tumult and riot at this day, the consequences of which ought to be dreaded by every lover of his country: for these reasons, we, therefore, return our hearty thanks to the Right Honourable the Earl of Carrick, Sir Thomas Maude, baronet, the Reverend Doctor Hewetson, William Bagwell, esquire, and John Bagnall, esquire, for their zealous endeavours to bring those delinquents to the punishment they deserved, and for their unwearied pains to support the laws of their country.

RICHARD ANDERSON, Foreman,

RICHARD JONES,

JAMES KEATING,

DANIEL BULLEN,

ANTHONY MURPHY,

ROBERT BEASLEY,

FRANCIS CUNNINGHAM,

JOHN DAWSON,

JOHN ALLEN,

WILLIAM HICKEY,

THOMAS KENNA,

WILLIAM SISSON,

ROBERT HICKEY,

JOHN EDKINS,

JOSEPH LITTON,

RICHARD BURTON,

JAMES WILSON,

JOHN BRADLEY,

THOMAS KEAN,

GEORGE DAVIS,

THOMAS ANDREWS,

CHARLES SMITH,

DANIEL EBBS,

RICHARD ANDERSON.

6.

By one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for said county.

County of Kilkenny, } The information of John Twohy, who,
to wit. } being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, deposeth, That he knoweth one James Herbert, otherwise Thomas Fitzgerald, who calls himself a French officer; that he saw said Herbert at four several times enlist men in Kilsinnan and Kilmallock, in the county of Limerick, and ship them off at Bantry, in the county of Cork, for the French service, in the year 1756; that he saw said Herbert, on the lands of Ardfinnan, Drumlemon, and elsewhere, at various times since, swear the Whiteboys under the oath of fidelity and obligation to the French King, and exercise them under arms; that he saw said Herbert also frequently pay them money, in the name and for the service of the King of France, and that your deponent has often received it from him; that he heard said Herbert frequently assure them, thus assembled, that they should soon receive assistance from France, in order to conquer Ireland.

JOHN TWOHY.

Sworn before me this 30th day of March 1766,

JOHN HEWETSON.

No. III.

William Abraham, of Bohereerd, in the Queen's County, a farmer, and of the Protestant religion, swore the following examination before Edward Ledwick, clerk, and justice of the peace for said county, on the twenty-seventh of December, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four: That a report had prevailed some time that the Whiteboys intended to carry off examinant the night of the fifteenth instant; that a party of them, blowing horns, and armed with muskets, and dressed in white frocks and shirts, entered his house, and put him behind one of them on horseback; that his wife, endeavouring to prevent their doing so, received a stroke of a musket in the small of the back. That before examinant was mounted, they gave him a violent blow on the head with the lock and hammer of a gun, which inflicted a deep wound thereon, and rendered him stupid and senseless; they carried him off mounted behind one of them, with only his breeches and a loose great coat on;

that in their progress they beat, battered, and abused him with their guns, and the man behind whom he rode wounded him severely in the legs with long nails in his heels, commonly called heel-spurs; they carried him ten miles off to a place near Ballyconra, where they held a consultation whether they should cut out his tongue or pull out his eyes; and at last agreed to cut off his ears, which they did with circumstances of great barbarity; that after having administered to him many unlawful oaths, they buried him up to his chin, though mangled in a deplorable way, in a grave lined with furze.

No. IV.

PETITION of the CATHOLICS of IRELAND.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Petition of the undersigned Catholics, on behalf of themselves and the rest of his Catholic subjects of the Kingdom of Ireland.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,—We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects of your kingdom of Ireland, professing the Catholic religion, presume to approach your Majesty, who are the common father of all your people, and humbly to submit to your consideration the manifold incapacities and oppressive disqualifications under which we labour.

For, may it please your Majesty, after a century of uninterrupted loyalty, in which time five foreign wars and two domestic rebellions have occurred; after having taken every oath of allegiance and fidelity to your Majesty, and given, and being still ready to give, every pledge which can be devised for their peaceable demeanour and unconditional submission to the laws, the Catholics of Ireland stand obnoxious to a long catalogue of statutes, inflicting on dutiful and meritorious subjects pains and penalties of an extent and severity which scarce any degree of delinquency can warrant, and prolonged to a period when no necessity can be alleged to justify their continuance.

In the first place, we beg leave, with all humility, to represent to your Majesty, that, notwithstanding the lowest departments in your Majesty's fleets and armies are largely supplied by our numbers, and your revenue in this country, to a great degree, supported by our contributions, we are

disabled from serving your Majesty in any office of trust and emolument whatsoever, civil or military ; a proscription which disregards capacity or merit ; admits of neither qualification nor degree ; and rests as an universal stigma of distrust upon the whole body of your Catholic subjects.

We are interdicted from all municipal stations, and the franchise of all guilds and corporations ; and our exclusion from the benefits annexed to those situations is not an evil terminating in itself ; for, by giving an advantage over us to those in whom they are exclusively vested, they establish, throughout the kingdom, a species of qualified monopoly, uniformly operating in our disfavour, contrary to the spirit, and highly detrimental to the freedom of trade.

We may not found nor endow any university, college, or school for the education of our children ; and we are interdicted from obtaining degrees in the University of Dublin by the several charters and statutes now in force therein.

We are totally prohibited from keeping or using weapons for the defence of our houses, families, or persons, whereby we are exposed to the violence of burglary, robbery, and assassination ; and to enforce this prohibition, contravening that great original law of nature which enjoins us to self-defence, a variety of statutes exist, not less grievous and oppressive in their provisions than unjust in their object ; by one of which, enacted so lately as within these sixteen years, *every one of your Majesty's Catholic subjects, of whatever rank or degree, peer or peasant*, is compellable, by any magistrate, to come forward and convict himself of what may be thought a singular offence in a country professing to be free—keeping arms for his defence ; or, if he shall refuse so to do, *may incur not only fine and imprisonment, but the vile and ignominious punishment of the pillory and whipping*—penalties appropriated to the most infamous malefactors, and more terrible to a liberal mind than death itself.

No Catholic whatsoever, as we apprehend, has his personal property secure. *The law allows and encourages the disobedient and unnatural child to conform and deprive him of it* : the unhappy father does not, even by the surrender of his all, purchase his repose ; he may be attacked by new bills, if his future industry be successful, and again be plundered by due process of law.

We are excluded, or may be excluded, from all petit juries, in civil actions, where one of the parties is a Protestant ; and we are further excluded from all petit juries, in trials by

information or indictment, founded on any of the Popery laws, by which law we most humbly submit to your Majesty, that your loyal subjects, the Catholics of Ireland, are, in this their native land, in a worse situation than that of aliens, for they may demand an equitable privilege denied to us, of having half their jury aliens like themselves.

We may not serve on grand juries, unless, which is scarcely possible can ever happen, there should not be found a sufficiency of Protestants to complete the panel; contrary to that humane and equitable principle of the law, which says that no man shall be convicted of any capital offence, unless by the concurring verdicts of two juries of their neighbours and equals; whereby, and to this we humbly presume more particularly to implore your royal attention, we are deprived of the great palladium of the constitution, trial by our peers, independent of the manifest injustice of our property being taxed in assessments by a body from which we are formally excluded.

We avoid a further enumeration of inferior grievances; but, may it please your Majesty, there remains one incapacity, which your loyal subjects, the Catholics of Ireland, feel with most poignant anguish of mind, as being the badge of unmerited disgrace and ignominy, and the cause and bitter aggravation of all our other calamities: *we are deprived of the elective franchise*, to the manifest perversion of the spirit of the constitution, inasmuch as your faithful subjects are thereby taxed where they are not represented, actually or virtually, and bound by laws, in the framing of which they have no power to give or withhold their assent; and we most humbly implore your Majesty to believe, that this, our prime and heavy grievance, is not an evil merely speculative, but is attended with great distress to all ranks, and, in many instances, with the total ruin and destruction of the lower orders of your Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects, the Catholics of Ireland; for, may it please your Majesty, not to mention the infinite variety of advantages, in point of protection and otherwise, which the enjoyment of the elective franchise gives to those who possess it, nor the consequent inconveniences to which those who are deprived thereof are liable, not to mention the disgrace to three-fourths of your loyal subjects of Ireland of living the only body of men incapable of franchise, in a nation possessing a free constitution, *it continually happens, and, of necessity, from the malignant nature of the law, must happen, that multitudes of the Catholic*

tenantry, in divers counties in this kingdom, are, at the expiration of their leases, expelled from their tenements and farms, to make room for Protestant freeholders, who, by their votes, may contribute to the weight and importance of their landlords : a circumstance which renders the recurrence of a general election—that period which is the boast and laudable triumph of our Protestant brethren—a visitation and heavy curse to us, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects. And may it please your Majesty, this uncertainty of possession to your Majesty's Catholic subjects, operates as a perpetual restraint and discouragement on industry and the spirit of cultivation, whereby it happens that this your Majesty's kingdom of Ireland, possessing many and great natural advantages of soil and climate, so as to be exceeded therein by few, if any, countries on the earth, is yet prevented from availing herself thereof so fully as she otherwise might, to the furtherance of your Majesty's honour, and the more effectual support of your service.

And may it please your Majesty, the evil does not even rest here ; for many of your Majesty's Catholic subjects, to preserve their families from total destruction, submit to a nominal conformity, against their conviction and their conscience ; and, preferring perjury to famine, take oaths which they utterly disbelieve : a circumstance which, we doubt not, will shock your Majesty's well known and exemplary piety, not less than the misery which drives those unhappy wretches to so desperate a measure, must distress and wound your royal clemency and commiseration.

And may it please your Majesty, though we might here rest our case on its own merits, justice, and expediency, yet we further presume humbly to submit to your Majesty, that the right of franchise was, with divers other rights, enjoyed by the Catholics of this kingdom, from the first adoption of the English constitution by our forefathers ; was secured to at least a great part of our body by the treaty of Limerick, in 1691, guaranteed by your Majesty's royal predecessors, King William and Queen Mary, and finally confirmed and ratified by Parliament ; notwithstanding which, and in direct breach of the public faith of the nation, thus solemnly pledged, for which our ancestors paid a valuable consideration, in the surrender of their arms, and a great part of this kingdom, and notwithstanding the most scrupulous adherence, on our part, to the terms of the said treaty, and our unremitting loyalty from that day to the present, the said

right of elective franchise was finally and universally taken away from the Catholics of Ireland, so lately as the first year of his Majesty King George the Second.

And when we thus presume to submit this infraction of the treaty of Limerick to your Majesty's royal notice, it is not that we ourselves consider it to be the strong part of our case ; for, though our rights were recognised, they were by no means created by that treaty ; and we do, with all humility, conceive, that, if no such event as the said treaty had ever taken place, your Majesty's Catholic subjects, from their unvarying loyalty, and dutiful submission to the laws, and from the great support afforded by them to your Majesty's Government in this country, as well in their personal service in your Majesty's fleets and armies, as from the taxes and revenues levied on their property, are fully competent and justly entitled to participate and enjoy the blessings of the constitution of their country.

And now that we have, with all humility, submitted our grievances to your Majesty, permit us, most gracious sovereign, again to represent our sincere attachment to the constitution, as established in three estates of King, Lords, and Commons ; our uninterrupted loyalty, peaceable demeanor, and submission to the laws for one hundred years ; and our determination to persevere in the same dutiful conduct which has, under your Majesty's happy auspices, procured us those relaxations of the penal statutes, which the wisdom of the legislature has from time to time thought proper to grant ; we humbly presume to hope that your Majesty, in your paternal goodness and affection towards a numerous and oppressed body of your loyal subjects, may be graciously pleased to recommend to your Parliament of Ireland, to take into their consideration the whole of our situation, our numbers, our merits, and our sufferings ; and, as we do not give place to any of your Majesty's subjects in loyalty and attachment to your sacred person, we cannot suppress our wishes of being restored to the rights and privileges of the constitution of our country, and thereby becoming more worthy, as well as more capable, of rendering your Majesty that service, which it is not less our duty than our inclination to afford.

So may your Majesty transmit to your latest posterity a crown secured by public advantage and public affection ; and so may your royal person become, if possible, more dear to your grateful people.

[The above petition was signed by two hundred and thirty-four delegates from seventy-three counties, cities, and towns, in the kingdom of Ireland.]

No. V.

DECLARATIONS and RESOLUTIONS of the SOCIETY of UNITED IRISHMEN of BELFAST.

In the present great æra of reform, when unjust governments are falling in every quarter of Europe ; when religious persecution is compelled to abjure her tyranny over conscience ; when the rights of man are ascertained in theory, and that theory substantiated by practice ; when antiquity can no longer defend absurd and oppressive forms against the common sense and common interests of mankind ; when all government is acknowledged to originate from the people, and to be so far only obligatory as it protects their rights and promotes their welfare, we think it our duty as Irishmen to come forward and state what we feel to be our heavy grievance, and what we know to be its effectual remedy.

We have no national government.

We are ruled by Englishmen and the servants of Englishmen, filled, as to commerce and politics, with the short-sighted and ignorant prejudices of their country, and these men have the whole of the power and patronage of Ireland as means to seduce and to subdue the honesty and the spirit of her representatives in the legislature. Such an extrinsic power, acting with uniform force in a direction too frequently opposite to the true line of our obvious interests, can be resisted with effect solely by *unanimity, decision, and spirit in the people*, qualities which may be exerted most legally, constitutionally, and efficaciously, by that great measure essential to the prosperity and freedom of Ireland, *a more equal representation of the people in Parliament.*

We do not here mention as a grievance the rejection of a place bill, of a pension bill, of a responsibility bill, the sale of peerages in one house, the corruption publicly avowed in the other, nor the notorious infamy of borough traffic between both : not that we do not feel their enormity, but that we consider them but as symptoms of that mortal disease which corrodes the vitals of our constitution, and

leaves to the people in their own government but the shadow of a name.

Impressed with these sentiments, we the undersigned have agreed to form an association, to be called ————, and we do pledge ourselves as citizens and as soldiers to our country, and mutually to each other, that we will steadily support and endeavour by all due means to carry into effect the following resolutions:

1st. Resolved—That the constitution of Ireland exists only in theory, inasmuch as the people are deprived of their natural weight in the scale of government, because they are not duly represented in Parliament, and therefore that a more general extension of the elective franchise is indispensably necessary.

2nd. Resolved—That the weight of English influence in the government of this country is so great as to require a cordial union among the people, to maintain that balance which is essential to the preservation of our liberties and the extension of our commerce.

3rd. Resolved—That satisfied as we are that the true greatness and happiness of Ireland can arise solely from a complete internal union of *all her people*, we lament the mistaken policy which has so long divided them, and that we shall heartily co-operate in all measures tending to the abolition of distinctions between Irishmen, equally invidious and unjust, and which have been uniformly the source of weakness and misery, and disgrace to the country.

Such are the resolutions which we propose as fundamental principles; we have gone to what we conceive to be the root of the evil, we have stated what we conceive to be the remedy. With a reformed Parliament every thing is easy, without it nothing can be done, unless by means too violent for the good people of this country, if not provoked beyond human sufferance even to think on.

And we do call on and most earnestly exhort our brethren, the volunteers of Ireland, who may *in fact* establish as they have *in theory* restored the independence of their native land: we call upon our countrymen in general to follow our example, and to form similar societies in every quarter of the kingdom for the promotion of constitutional knowledge, and the dispensation of *genuine Whig principles*; the people when thus collected will feel their own weight, and secure that power which theory has already admitted as their portion, and to which if they be not aroused by their present

provocations to vindicate it, they deserve to forfeit their pretensions for ever.

This declaration was accompanied by the following letter from Mr. Tone:—

“The foregoing contain my true and sincere opinion of the state of this country, *so far as in the present juncture it may be advisable to publish it.* They certainly fall short of the truth, but truth itself must sometimes condescend to temporize. My unalterable opinion is, that the bane of Irish prosperity is in the influence of England: I believe that influence will ever be extended while the connexion between the countries continues; nevertheless, as I know that opinion is, *for the present*, too hardy, though a very little time may establish it universally, I have not made it a part of the resolutions, I have only proposed to set up a reformed Parliament as a barrier against that mischief, which every honest man that will open his eyes must see in every instance overbears the interest of Ireland: I have not said one word that looks like a wish for *separation*, though I give it to you and your friends, as my most decided opinion, that such an event would be a regeneration to this country.

“I have, you will see, alluded to the resolutions of the *Whig club*, and I have differed with them *in degree only*, that is, I think and I am sure they do not go far enough—they *are not sincere friends to the popular cause*—they dread the people as much as the Castle does. It may be objected that an implied difference of sentiment between them and the people will weaken both—I think otherwise. If they do not join you in supporting a reform in Parliament, they do not deserve support themselves: apply the touchstone; if they stand the trial, well; if they fail, they are false and hollow, and the sooner they are detected the better. What signifies peddling with their superficial measures? They are good *so far as they go*, but for the people to spend their strength in pursuit of such, would be just as wise as for a man who has a mortification in his bowels to be very solicitous about a plaster for his forefinger. To be candid, I dare say that my Lord Charlemont, and I am pretty sure that Mr. Grattan would hesitate very much at the resolutions which I send; but I only beg you will dismiss your respect for great names, read over the resolutions and what I have now said, and then determine impartially between us. *I have alluded to the Catholics, but so remotely as I hope not to alarm the most cautious Protestant*: it is wicked nonsense to talk of a

reform in Ireland, in which they shall not have their due share.

“ I have in the third resolution conceded very far indeed to what I consider as vulgar and ignorant prejudices. Look at France and America; the Pope burnt in effigy at Paris; the English Catholics at this very hour seceding from his church. A thousand arguments crowd on me, but it is unnecessary here to dwell on them. *I hope you will find this resolution sufficiently guarded and cool. I have been purposely vague and indefinite*, and I must say men who would seek a reform and omit that indispensable step have different notions both of expediency and justice from any that I can conceive.

“ I think the best opportunity for publishing them will be on the 14th July. I learn there is to be a commemoration of the French revolution, *that morning star of liberty to Ireland*. The volunteers, if they approve of the plan, may then adopt it, and I have so worded it as to leave them an opportunity; I have left, as you see, a blank for the name, which I am clearly of opinion should be ‘The Society of United Irishmen.’

October, 1791.

No. VI.

December 14, 1792.

The Society of United Irishmen, at Dublin, to the Volunteers of Ireland.

WILLIAM DRENNAN, Chairman.

ARCHIBALD HAMILTON ROWAN,* Secretary.

Citizen soldiers,

You first took up arms to protect your country from foreign enemies, and from domestic disturbance. For the same purposes, it now becomes necessary that you should resume them. A proclamation has been issued in England for embodying the militia, and a proclamation has been issued by the lord-lieutenant and council in Ireland for repressing all *sedition* associations. In consequence of both these proclamations it is reasonable to apprehend

* On the 9th of September, in this year (1792), Mr. Hamilton Rowan drank at his own table the following toast:—“The spirit of the French mob to the people of Ireland!” See the life of Theobald Wolfe Tone, vol. i., p. 182.

danger from abroad, and danger at home. From whence but from apprehended danger are those menacing preparations for war drawn through the streets of this capital, or whence, if not to *create* that internal commotion which was not *found*, to shake that credit which was not *affected*, to blast that volunteer honour which was hitherto *inviolate*, are those terrible suggestions and rumours and whispers, that meet us at every corner, and agitate at least our old men, our women and children? Whatever be the motive, or from whatever quarter it arises, alarm has arisen, and you, volunteers of Ireland, are therefore summoned *to arms* at the instance of Government, as well as by the responsibility attached to your character, and the permanent obligations of your institution. We will not at this day condescend to quote authorities for the *right* of having and of using arms, but we will cry aloud, even amidst the storm, raised by the witchcraft of a proclamation, that to your *formation* was owing the peace and protection of this island, to your *relaxation* has been owing its relapse into impotence and insignificance, to your *renovation* must be owing its future freedom and its present tranquillity. You are therefore summoned to arms, in order to preserve your country in that guarded quiet, which may secure it from external hostility, and to maintain that internal regimen throughout the land, which, superseding a notorious police or a suspected militia, may preserve the blessings of peace by a vigilant preparation for war.

Citizen soldiers, to arms! Take up the shield of freedom, and the pledges of peace,—peace, the motive and end of your virtuous institution. War, an occasional duty, ought never to be made an occupation. Every man should become a soldier in the defence of his rights; no man ought to continue a soldier for offending the rights of others. *The sacrifice of life in the service of our country is a duty much too honourable to be entrusted to mercenaries*, and at this time, when your country has by public authority been declared in danger, we conjure you, by your interest, your duty, and your glory, to stand to your arms, and in spite of a police, in spite of a fencible militia, in virtue of two proclamations, to maintain good order in your vicinage, and tranquillity in Ireland. It is only by the military array of men in whom they confide, whom they have been accustomed to revere as the guardians of domestic peace, the protectors of their liberties and lives, that the present agitation of the people

can be stilled, that tumult and licentiousness can be repressed, obedience secured by existing law, and a calm confidence diffused through the public mind in the speedy resurrection of a free constitution—of *Liberty* and of *Equality*,—words which we use for an opportunity of repelling calumny, and of saying, That—

By *Liberty* we never understood unlimited freedom, nor by *Equality* the levelling of property, or the destruction of subordination. This is a calumny invented by that faction, or that gang, which misrepresents the King to the people, and the people to the King, traduces one-half of the nation to cajole the other, and by keeping up distrust and division, wishes to continue the proud arbitrators of the fortune and fate of Ireland. *Liberty* is the exercise of all our rights, natural and political, secured to us and our posterity by a real representation of the people; and *Equality* is the extension of the constituent to the fullest dimensions of the constitution of the elective franchise to the whole body of the people, to the end that Government, which is collective power, may be guided by collective will, and that legislation may originate from public reason, keep pace with public improvement, and terminate in public happiness. If our constitution be imperfect, nothing but a reform in representation will rectify its abuses; if it be perfect, nothing but the same reform will perpetuate its blessings.

We now address you as citizens, for to be citizens you became soldiers, *nor can we help wishing that all soldiers, partaking the passions and interest of the people, would remember that they were once citizens, that seduction made them soldiers, "but nature made them men."* We address you without any authority save that of reason, and if we obtain the coincidence of public opinion it is neither by force nor stratagem, for we have no power to terrify, no artifice to cajole, no fund to seduce. Here we sit, without mace or beadle, neither a mystery, nor a craft, nor a corporation. In four words lies all our power, Universal Emancipation and Representative Legislature; *yet we are confident that on the pivot of this principle, a convention,—still less, a society,—less still, a single man, would be able first to move and then to raise the world.* We, therefore, wish for Catholic Emancipation without any modification, but still we consider this necessary enfranchisement as merely the portal of the temple of national freedom. Wide as its entrance is, wide enough to admit three millions, it is narrow, when compared

to the capacity and comprehension of our beloved principle, which takes in every individual of the Irish nation, casts an equal eye over the whole island, embraces all that think, and feels for all that suffer. The Catholic cause is subordinate to our cause, and included in it, for, as United Irishmen, we adhere to no sect, but to society, to no creed, but Christianity, to no party, but the whole people. In the sincerity of our souls do we desire Catholic Emancipation, but *were it obtained to-morrow, to-morrow would we go on, as we do to-day, in the pursuit of that reform which would still be wanting to ratify their liberties as well as our own.*

For both these purposes it appears necessary that provincial conventions should assemble preparatory to the convention of the Protestant people. The delegates of the Catholic body are not justified in communicating with individuals, or even bodies of inferior authority, and, therefore, an assembly of a similar nature and organization is necessary to establish an intercourse of sentiment and uniformity of conduct, a united cause, and a united nation. If a convention on the one part does not soon follow, and is not soon connected with that on the other, the common cause will split into the partial interest; the people will relax into inattention and inertness; the union of affection and exertion will dissolve, and too probably some local insurrection, instigated by the malignity of our common enemy, may commit the character and risk the tranquillity of the island, which can be obviated only by the influence of an assembly arising from, assimilated with the people, and whose spirit may be as it were knit with the soul of the nation: unless the sense of the Protestant people be on their part as fairly collected and as judiciously directed, unless individual exertion consolidates into collective strength, unless the particles unite into a mass, we may perhaps serve some person, or some party, for a little, but the public not at all. The nation is neither insolent, nor rebellious, nor seditious. While it knows its rights it is unwilling to manifest its powers. *It would rather supplicate administration to anticipate revolution by a well timed reform, and to save their country in mercy to themselves.*

The 15th of February approaches, a day ever memorable in the annals of this country as the birth-day of new Ireland. Let parochial meetings be held as soon as possible. Let each parish return delegates. Let the sense of Ulster be again declared from Dungannon on a day

auspicious to union, peace, and freedom, and the spirit of the north will again become the spirit of the nation. The civil assembly ought to claim the attendance of the military associations, and we have addressed you, citizen soldiers, on this subject, from the belief that your body, uniting conviction with zeal, and zeal with activity, may have much influence over our countrymen, your relations and friends. We offer only a general outline to the public, and meaning to address Ireland, we presume not at present to fill up the plan, or pre-occupy the mode of its execution. We have thought it our duty to speak: answer us by actions; you have taken time for consideration. Fourteen long years are elapsed since the rise of your associations, and in 1782 did you imagine that in 1792 this nation would still remain unrepresented? How many nations in this interval have gotten the start of Ireland! How many of our countrymen have sunk into the grave!

No. VII.

At a meeting of the Northern Whig Club, held at Belfast on the 16th of April, 1790, Gawin Hamilton, esquire, in the chair, the following resolutions and address were agreed to:—

Resolved unanimously—That when an unmasked and shameless system of ministerial corruption manifests an intention to sap the spirit, virtue, and independence of Parliament, it is time for the people to look to themselves.

Resolved unanimously—That if the people have a due regard to their essential rights and interests, if they reflect that the arch of the constitution was cemented with the blood of their ancestors, or consider themselves trustees for millions unborn, they will steadily oppose so ruinous and execrable a system; if they do not, instead of glorying in that independence which they so lately with efficacy vindicated, they must soon sink into the most ignominious slavery.

Resolved unanimously—That our respectful address to the electors of Ireland, together with these resolutions, the toasts of the day, and a list of the members of this club, be published.

To the Electors of Ireland.

The third estate of Parliament no longer exists. The

power of regenerating it reverts to you, and never was a wise, a faithful, a *spirited* use of that power more loudly called for. The corrupt support given in the late session, by placed and pensioned majorities, without pretension to argument, decency, or ability, to an administration equally destitute of them all, in measures avowedly hostile to the rights, liberties, and prosperity of this country, proclaims your danger, points out your defence, and challenges your best exertions. In the name of your country then we call upon you to support the rights of Ireland, to exert the important privileges of freemen at the ensuing election, and to proclaim to the world that you deserve to be free. Guard your share in the legislature as the great distinction between our constitution and a tyranny. Preserve it equally from the inroads of the crown and of the aristocracy.

Where a representative has proved faithful, renew the trust; where he has bartered his duty for emoluments, either for himself or for his retainers, reject him with disdain, and amongst new candidates support those, and those only, whose characters place them above suspicion, and give a just ground for confidence.

Regard not the threats of landlords and their agents when they require you to fail in your duty to your country, to yourselves, and to your posterity.

The first privilege of man is the right of judging for himself, and now is the time for you to exert that right.

Let no individual neglect his duty. The nation is an aggregate of individuals, and the strength of the whole is composed of the exertions of each part; the man, therefore, who omits what is in his power, because he has not *more* in it, stands accountable for confirming and entailing slavery on the land which gave him birth. As an upright House of Commons is *all* that is wanting, do your duty to your country by endeavouring to create one; and let no consideration tempt you to sacrifice the public to a private tie—the greater duty to the less.

We entreat you in the name of your insulted nation, we implore you by every social and honourable tie, we conjure you as citizens, as freemen, as *Irishmen*, to exclude from the representative body that herd of slaves who have dared to barter your dearest rights and most essential interests for their private gain. The illustrious minority of the last session have acquitted themselves in a manner seldom equalled. It remains for you to do your duty to yourselves.

If you are not satisfied with the House of Commons in which the voice of the nation is with difficulty to be heard—with a majority of that house returned by rotten boroughs, and filled, through ministerial profligacy, with 104 pensioned hirelings,—if you do not wish to countenance corruption,—if you desire to guard the treasure of the public from the rapacity of English viceroys,—if you do not wish the foundation of nobility contaminated by the sale of the honours of one house for the purpose of bribing the other, and to see a police ruffian stand sentinel at every man's door in the land,—you will propose the following questions, by deputations of electors, and on the very hustings, to every gentleman who offers himself for the trust of representing you in Parliament, and you will not hesitate to reject the claim of any man, however great his rank or extensive his connexions, who shall not unequivocally pledge himself to support the following salutary and necessary measures:—

“ Will you regularly attend your duty in Parliament, and be governed by the instructions of your constituents? Will you, in and out of the house, with all your ability and influence, promote the success of a bill for amending the representation of the people? A bill for preventing pensioners from sitting in Parliament, or such placemen as cannot sit in the British House of Commons? A bill for limiting the number of placemen and pensioners, and the amount of pensions? A bill for preventing revenue officers from voting or interfering at elections? A bill for rendering the servants of the Crown of Ireland responsible for the expenditure of the public money? A bill to protect the personal safety of the subject against arbitrary and excessive bail, and against the stretching of the power of attachment beyond the limits of the constitution? And will you, as far as in you lies, prevent any renewal of the Police Act?”

Those who shall for a moment hesitate to enter into such an agreement with their electors cannot be faithful servants of the public, nor deserve the countenance of an honest man.

-Resolved unanimously—That we will not vote for nor support any candidate who shall not solemnly and publicly pledge himself to the measures recommended to the electors of Ireland in the preceding address.

(Signed, by order,) GAWIN HAMILTON, *President.*

A. HALIDAY, *Secretary.*

The following are a few of the names of the original members of the Northern Whig Club :—

Lord Charlemont,	Hon. E. Ward,
Lord de Clifford,	Hon. R. Ward,
Lord Moira,	Hon. H. Rowley,
Right Hon. John O'Neill,	Eldred Pottinger,
(Lord O'Neill.)	William Brownlow,
Right Hon. H. L. Rowley,	Savage Hall,
Archibald Hamilton Rowan	William Sharman,
<i>Hon. Robert Stewart, (Lord</i>	John Forbes,
<i>Castlereagh,)</i>	Richard J. Kerr,
William Todd Jones,	E. J. Agnew.

The following were among the toasts of the day :—

- “ President Washington, and the United States of America.”
- “ A happy establishment of the Gallic Constitution.”
- “ Freedom to the Brabanters.”
- “ Our Sovereign Lord, the People.”

No. VIII.

STATEMENT of the SITUATION of IRELAND, found on Jackson's Arrest, April, 1794; and written by Mr. Tone.

The situation of England and Ireland are fundamentally different in this—the Government of England is national; that of Ireland provincial. The interest of the first is the same with that of the people. Of the last, directly opposite. The people of Ireland are divided into three sects—the Established Church, the Dissenters, and the Catholics. The first, infinitely the smallest portion, have engrossed, besides the whole church patronage, all the profits and honours of the country, and a very great share of the landed property. They are, of course, all aristocrats, adverse to any change, and decided enemies to the French Revolution. The Dissenters, who are much more numerous, are the most enlightened body of the nation. They are devoted to liberty, and, through all its changes, enthusiastically attached to the French Revolution. The Catholics, the great body of the nation, are in the lowest degree of ignorance and want; ready for any change, because no change can make them worse; they have, within these two years, received a great

degree of information, and manifested a proportional degree of discontent by various insurrections (they are known by the name of Defenders). There is no where a greater spirit of aristocracy than in all the privileged orders—the clergy and the gentry of Ireland, down to the very lowest; to countervail which, there seems to be a spirit rising amongst the people which never appeared before, but which is spreading most rapidly, as will appear by the Defenders and other insurgents. If the people of Ireland be 4,500,000, as seems probable, the Established Church may be reckoned at 450,000, the Defenders at 900,000, the Catholics at 3,150,000. In Ireland, a conquered, and oppressed, and insulted country, the name of England, and her power, is universally odious, save with those who have an interest in maintaining it, such as the Government and its connexions, the church and its dependencies, the great landed property, &c.; but the power of these people being founded on property, the first convulsion would level it with the dust. On the contrary, the great bulk of the people would probably throw off the yoke, if they saw any force in the country sufficiently strong to resort to for defence. It seems idle to suppose that the prejudices of England against France spring merely from the republicanism of the French; they proceed rather from a spirit of rivalry, encouraged by continual wars. In Ireland the Dissenters are enemies to the English power, from reason and reflection; the Catholics, from hatred to the English name. In a word, the prejudices of the one country are directly favourable, and those of the other directly adverse, to an invasion. The government of Ireland is to be looked upon as a government of force; the moment a superior force appears it would tumble at once, as being neither founded in the interests nor in the affections of the people.

It may be said the people of Ireland show no political exertion. In the first place, public spirit is completely depressed by the recent persecution,—the Gunpowder Act, Convention Bill, &c.; so that they have no way, with safety to themselves, of expressing their discontents, *civiliter*; which is, at the same time, greatly augmented by these measures. The militia, the great bulk of whom are Catholics, would, to a moral certainty, abandon their leaders. The spirit of Ireland cannot be calculated from newspapers, declarations of Government, or jury and county meetings, where the gentry only meet and speak for themselves. The

church establishment and tithes are very severe grievances, and have been the cause of numberless local insurrections. The gentry not immediately connected or dependent upon Government, nevertheless, support it, thinking it a necessary security for their estates. In a word, from reason, reflection, interest, prejudice, the spirit of change, the misery of the great bulk of the nation, and, above all, the hatred of the English name, resulting from the tyranny of nearly seven centuries, there seems little doubt that an invasion, in sufficient force, would be supported. Arms, ammunition, and money, all are wanting.

Very much, perhaps the whole success of the measure, would depend upon the manifesto, to be published on the landing being effected. It should disclaim all idea of conquest; it should set forth that they came into the country, not as enemies, but as allies, to enable the people to redress their grievances, to assert their rights, to subvert the ancient tyranny of their oppressors, and to establish, on a permanent basis, the independence of their country. It should promise protection, in person and property, to all who should remain in their houses, and demean themselves as dutiful subjects to the state; at the same time holding out the severest penalties to those who should adhere to the cause of the enemies. It should suggest the abolition of all unjust distinctions and oppressive establishments. Many other topics will naturally suggest themselves, but the present may suffice as a sample.

The force necessary may not be more than 20,000, nor less than 10,000 men. Supposing them 10,000, 7,000 should land in the west, and having secured and fortified a landing-place, should advance into the middle of the country; at the same time 3,000 should land immediately at the capital, and seize on all the stores, and such persons as might be troublesome. In that event, the north would rise to a man, and so having possession of three-fourths of the country, and the capital, the remaining part, were it so inclined, could make no resistance.

No. IX.

EXTRACTS from the UNION STAR.

“ Insurrection and revenge, however described or discountenanced by the abettors of tyranny, should always be respected by a people, as they have operated powerfully

towards the preservation of liberty and the distribution of justice. As revolutions, in every age and country, were acts contrary to laws then in existence, they consequently were insurrections. The thing called in England a revolution in 1688 justifies the assertion, and in the Declaration of Rights, the men who drew it up, and the people who read it, defended and admired the virtue and necessity of resistance to oppression. The revolutions of France and America were founded on insurrection, and before them the Portuguese and Dutch revolutions. Antiquity furnish many splendid insurrections; amongst others, the celebrated one of the Roman people retreating to the Mons Sacer, and defending themselves by wholesome regulations from the privileged patricians—the Luttrells, Fitzgibbons, and Scotts of the day. History ornaments her page with the bold struggles, as honourable, edifying, and worthy of imitation by suffering humanity. Revenge! glorious revenge! Your name is as sweet as liberty; as Paine says, ‘He that would not punish cruelty offers a premium to vice,’ or, as Ganganelli expresses it, ‘Mercy to the wicked is cruelty to the worthy.’ The Irishman who would not expiate the burning of his cabin, by the burning of a tyrant’s palace, is accessory to his neighbour’s destruction; or he, whose father, son, or brother has been murdered by British or Irish mercenaries, would not revenge the deed, by immolating any of his country’s oppressors, is beneath a man, and is the murderer of his kindred by connivance. The horrors committed in our country by our English masters, centuries ago, demand vengeance, when killing an Irishman was only finable, many proofs of which are existing. We shall cite one: At a general gaol delivery at Waterford, the 4th of Edward II., before John Wogan, lord justice of Ireland, an Englishman accused of murder, pleaded in bar of judgment that the person killed was an Irishman. The tying of Catholic clergymen back to back, and drowning them in the Shannon. The English plan of starving whole counties is loudly boasted of by English writers. We need not resort to the calendar of English cruelties; they are again revived; and Ireland, moistened with the blood of her children, loudly calls for glorious revenge. United Irishmen, be steady and persevering; liberty and justice point the road to glory; the delivery of our country is at hand; your labours will be rewarded, your just revenge will be gratified, and an equal distribution of rights will be yours. Industry will be

honoured, industrious age venerated, pregnant wives respected, and the plough, the shuttle, and the ship shall give their blessings unshackled. Be not cast down nor hopeless, the genius of Ireland will give aid to your endeavours; the mitred mountebank shall resign his lands for the education of deserted infancy, and the care of industrious age. The lands which royal villainy wrested from murdered Irishmen shall be the rewards of the deliverers of their country. No more will the lazy lord enjoy the fruits of your labour, and starve you into the ranks, to please his ambition or extend his power. No more shall incessant toil be your fate. No more shall you be as you have been for centuries, rearing and watching the ox or the sheep whose flesh you never tasted, or whose fleece never warms you. No more shall you be doomed to thresh or sow the corn you never were allowed to see in bread. If the want of liberty has exposed you to so many calamities, hesitate not for a moment, she is with you, and one bold exertion will place her in the centre of your country, where her avenging spirit shall deliver her enemies into your hands, and deliver your immured brethren from captivity, your fields from superstitious plunder, and establish the empire of universal benevolence and fraternity from Wicklow hills to Belfast—from the channel to the Atlantic; and let every honest man say Amen, and every brother do his duty."

"Irishmen! recollect and know who are the men who rival Robespierre; nay, exceed him in horrors and crimes; that depopulate your country; that burn your fields and villages. Turn over the page of history as written by Englishmen—you will see Ireland's present sufferings, at which your nature must shudder, your just indignation awaken into wishes, and exertions that must be fatal to your oppressors, and glorious to yourselves. Look at what are called Acts of Parliament. The 17th year of Charles the First confiscating three millions of acres at one sitting, and selling them to English adventurers, on the condition of having and holding them by exterminating the ancient Irish proprietors! Remember that the lapse of years does not justify any right in your *masters* to retain the *property of your fathers*. That stage should not consecrate error. That the light thrown on the rights of man by philosophy and truth, gives you encouragement to hope that the French teachers, and deliverers of Europe, will sanction your claims and second your struggles. The Star does not *unjustly* advise a

thought that would injure the proprietor of an estate, acquired by mercantile or mechanic industry. The Star only aims at those properties wrested from our murdered ancestors by English perfidy ; which reminds the present holders, that they must perform the agreement on which they possessed the territory, and in which they are not deficient, as they have revived every enormity that royal villainy can encourage. Ireland! bleeding at every vein, presents a horrid spectacle; and her innumerable wounds, as so many tongues, cry to heaven and liberty for justice. When English tyrants could no longer provoke rebellion, which was a faithful excuse for confiscating Irish property, they enacted a law to make murder high treason, which empowered the king to become the *heir* of the convicted person—the thing was a *ready mode* of robbing a *spirited* or *rich* family, and rewarding an English *favourite* ; to effect which an informer was procured, who was always sure of doing his business, as property insured conviction—an innocent man was hanged, and his family reduced to beggary. High treason, in other cases, was another method of plunder; in England two witnesses were necessary; but, as Irishmen were to be destroyed—no mode was admitted; the king *graciously* bestowed on a *faithful follower* the estate of an innocent Irishman, convicted on one evidence, easily and readily at hand to swear high treason on any unfortunate man of property. Those acts are *strong reasons* for *loving* the Lord's *anointed* ; who issue their royal warrants in the following *humane* and *pious* manner :—

‘George, by the grace of God. We command you to burn the town of Belfast, &c., such is our royal pleasure.’

“ Burning a town by the grace of God, and by a man calling himself the *father* of his *people*, might be strong reasons for saying, ‘from such grace, and such parents, O Lord, deliver us.’”

EXTRACTS from the PRESS: published in Dublin, in 1797.

Press, No. 8.—14th October, 1797.

“ When such restraints are laid on the press, that the people are held in ignorance, and from that ignorance know neither their own duty as members of the state, nor yet the duty of those who are set over them, or, to speak more properly, those who have *set themselves* over them, it may fairly be concluded that *the government*, where this ignorance prevails, is verging fast to its dissolution.”

Press, No. 8.—14th October, 1797.

“The rule of right is a rule that in morals should never vary; but, in these kingdoms, to preach *up royalism* is the best rule; and the wisdom of government protects those who embrace this right side of the question, while it punishes with equal rectitude those who maintained that a *republic* is the only right form of government;—let us apply this rule to the continent. France is not a nation of fools; and some amongst them have as much sense (God forgive them) as * * * *, but no matter. The fools of France tell you, that monarchy is a coat of arms, whose supporters are the church and the aristocracy—its crest, the bloody hand; and its motto, *Odi profanum vulgus*; but that democracy, not possessing these rampant wits, is the ægis of wisdom, whose *right rule* should govern the world: now these are *two rules of right*, both appearing on opposite principles, both pronounced to be the very best for the government of man, and each declared superior to the other in excellence; yet a man shall be punished alternately for observing this or that, according to the air which he breathes.”

Press, No. 9.—17th October, 1797.

“THE UNITED IRISHMEN recommend to each other temperance, patience, peace, and non-resistance (heinous crimes). They do not wish for reform or emancipation, because they never asked for any such thing. No! This is a little odd. But what is the conspiracy? A conspiracy of truth against falsehood,—a conspiracy of peace and liberty against war and slavery,—a conspiracy of love and national union against hatred and civil distraction,—a conspiracy of reason, justice, and virtue, against cruel oppression, inhumanity, and vice. *And we will say further, if the King and his people do not unite, or conspire (call it by what name you please), against the mad, wicked, blood-thirsty ministers, who have conspired against both, God can only tell how soon the people will lose their beloved King, or he his faithful, but wretched people.*”

Press, No. 10.—19th October, 1797.

After a comparison of the conduct of Lord Yelverton on Orr's condemnation to that of Judge Jefferies, follows:—

“*At this crisis; so full of horror, we have a consolation in thinking that certain atrocities can live only till they are understood, they are hideous spectres which vanish with the morning. The mere executions of military force, terrible as*

they are, go no further than the branches, and may be endured; but the blow that is levelled at the root of society is a warning to mankind, that *if they do not awake, they must sleep for ever; there is no alternative between liberty and destruction, and if they are too abject to claim freedom as a right, they must fly to it as a refuge.*"

Same.

"Irish Rebellion.

"Monday next will be the anniversary of what is *usually called* the Irish Rebellion. Far be it from us to justify the cruelties *said* to have been committed by some of the insurgents of that day, &c. But whatever those cruelties may have been, *they* cannot have given rise to the epithet, *Rebellion*; that, if just, must be warranted by the objects and demands of the insurgents. (Here follows a large exposition of their demands). Oh, Ireland! what is to be thy *future* destiny? If the mysterious workings of Providence shall withhold from us those blessings after which we pant, will our posterity calumniate their forefathers, and shall *our failures* be matter of triumph to *our* children? But no; it cannot be—the honest, and, we trust, the peaceable exertions of *United Ireland in favour of freedom must succeed*. The question of forfeited property is, thank God, by common consent, at rest; and we will not, like our ancestors, mar a national cause by sectorial quarrels; we shall have no controversies about which set of prests shall enjoy the archbishoprics, bishoprics, deaneries, and other spiritual promotions; let us then persevere with patience, moderation, firmness. Whatever Ascendency Men, or Orange Men, may attempt, *the cause of Irish liberty must finally prevail, supported as it is by a brotherhood of affection amongst Irishmen of every religious persuasion.*"

"*Press, No. 13.—26th October, 1797.*"

"But, my Lord (to the Lord-Lieutenant on Orr's execution), it will not do—though your guards, and your soldiers, and your thousands, and your tens of thousands, should conduct innocence to death—it will not do. A voice has cried in the wilderness, and let the deserted streets of Carrickfergus proclaim to all the world, that good men will not be intimidated; and that they are yet more numerous than your soldiers."

No. 9.—17th October, 1797.

"*The United Irishmen* are everywhere knocked down by

the hacks and runners of administration with all the rancour of political fanaticism; while the Orangemen, who have solemnly sworn to exterminate his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, are the only persons protected and cherished by the English cabinet. *If then any branch of his Majesty's oppressed subjects in Ireland are driven to seek foreign protection, who is to blame, the oppressed or the oppressors?"*

No. 17.—4th November, 1797.

"Examples are not wanting, if examples could avail, that tyranny has no terrors for a mind resolved, and that confederated multitudes can overpower the best disciplined troops. France has confirmed this new discovered truth, and France has afforded a lesson of moderation to the sovereigns of Europe."

Same.

"The fatal battle of Aughrim.

"Mourn, lost Hibernia, ever mourn
Thy freedom lost, thy laurels torn,
Thy warriors sunk on Aughrim's plains,
And Britain loading thee with chains."

No. 23.—18th November, 1797.

"The ever memorable *capture and destruction* of the Bastile is a striking and awful example to tyrannical governments of what even *unarmed* citizens can do against disciplined force, entrenched in the strongest fortifications, if once roused by a sense of injuries, and an enthusiastic love of liberty, to shake off at once their *fears* and their *chains*."

No. 24.—21st November, 1797.

"I must warn you, that if you hope to unite the ease and indulgence, both mental and bodily, of untroubled times with the agitations of party, you will be sorely disappointed. The present times will require uncommon firmness, large sacrifices, severe privations, and laborious exertions; but how shall you escape them, could you desire it? You must fly from your native land, you must renounce your situation in society, many of your most valuable connexions; you must divest yourself of the patriot feeling towards your country, which includes all the best affections, and universal charities of the universal bosom. And whither would you fly? In what quarter of the habitable globe can you dream of finding untroubled and permanent repose, amidst the general convulsion which shakes the *genius* and the *moral*

instruments? It is not only more manly and more honourable, but also more prudent, to march with countenance erect, a volunteer, into the patriot ranks, than to be forced to the painful alternative of becoming one of the satellites of tyranny, one of the oppressors of your country, one of the butchers of your brethren; of joining the patriot band, at a future day, reluctantly and ungraciously, and of bringing an accession of strength, without deserving gratitude or honour.

“Above all, do not despond of the republic. Believe me, it shall not be lost: the present silence of the people is not the silence of fear and despondency, but of discretion—the public cause is not abandoned, notwithstanding the terrors of military execution, &c., but the day *must* come when the people shall firmly rally round the constitution, and range themselves boldly under the standard of freedom.”

No. 26.—25th November, 1797.

“What thinks royalty now? How stands its account with the world? Is it at last convinced of its madness and vanity, in oppressing the will of a great but oppressed nation, *once determined* to be free?”

No. 27.—28th November, 1797.

In the letter to Lord Carhampton, under the title of Satanides, is the following passage:—

“It was indeed to be lamented that you should perish by the stroke of *private justice*, and defraud the executioner of his right, and the nation of its example. Were you this moment surrounded by the justly enraged populace; were their arms raised to inflict the desired doom, I would throw myself among their poniards, I would endeavour to rescue you from their fury. I would intercede for your hated life—I would say, ‘Suffer him to pollute the air a little longer; degrade not the majestic exertions of the people, by employing them on so base an object. The day comes when justice shall prevail, when Ireland shall raise her head from the dust and perform a solemn sacrifice to the constitution: on the awful day of rejoicing to the good, and terror to the wicked, *a few victims may be required*; and this wretch may be included in the number, and meet the ignominious doom of a traitor.’”

No. 27.—28th November, 1797.

“Gracious God! for what misery are we reserved? when such atrocities are stamped with the praise of spirit, and

when it is proclaimed to the Republic of France that the natives of this devoted country are thus hunted down like wild beasts by their own nobility and gentry; when we see the *address of Hoche offering liberty and protection*, answered by the manifesto of *Lord Grenville, denouncing slavery and blood.*"

Same.

"Let not your ill-judged violence, let not those divisions that are villainously sowed amongst you, provoke the Father of Justice to punish your cruelty to one another with 'condign rigour; be assured though 'sorrow lasteth for a night, that joy cometh in the morning.' Be patient, be firm; and the same unanimity that makes common calamity supportable will, be assured, make united effort irresistible."

No. 28.—30th November, 1797.

"Erin, daughter of the main,
When shall thou thy rights regain?
Soon, Oh! soon, thy standard green,
Proudly flying shall be seen.
Soon thy heroes crowd the plain,
Freedom marching in their train;
Echo all along the shore
Shall repeat the cannon's roar.
Tyrants' blood in streams shall flow,
Prostrate fall the haughty foe."

&c. &c.

No. 30.—5th December, 1797.

"There are many reasons for doubting that the English Government will venture on their favourite scheme of removing our militia. Without an Act of Parliament they dare not attempt it, as they well know that the Irish militia, in so just a cause, would resist force by force, and be supported, in such resistance, by every honest man in the nation."

No. 32.—9th December, 1797.

"We recommend the proclamation of General Buonaparte to the Ligurian Republic to the most serious consideration of the Irish patriots. It is a proclamation that breathes the most tender sentiments of moderation and morality, and teaches us that the best cause is endangered, and the purest motives counteracted by violence and passion. Above all, it is a lesson to the tyrants of Europe, as it teaches them that they cannot delude their subjects by false colourings of

‘ French liberty;’ and that wherever the French have carried their arms, they ‘ have destroyed corrupt government, and led the people to exist with glory.’ ”

No. 34.—14th December, 1797.

“ Monaghan Assizes.—Among those convicted, many of whom were Catholics, were the two only sons of an innocent and venerable old man of the name of Johnston, a Protestant Dissenter; the eldest for *taking arms* in the town of Glaslough, *to prevent the disarming of the county by the military*; the other for *simply administering the United Irishmen’s oath*. The eldest was pardoned, the youngest hanged, it is said by mistake, &c. The youth, who was seventeen years of age, walked undaunted to the place of execution, and met death with a composure that argued a mind *unconscious of guilt*.”

No. 35.—16th December, 1797.

“ Such is now the effect of politics, that family disputes are become very frequent by the contrary opinions entertained, and we constantly hear of two sisters who are for ever grumbling; and who, we think, would, as our countryman says, ‘ agree better together, *if they were asunder*.’ ”

No. 36.—19th December, 1797.

“ The Catholics and Presbyterians are united in indissoluble ties, like dying martyrs, in a common cause, priding themselves in mutual good offices, and for ever abjuring the barbarous fanaticism that made them hate each other. From the Protestants of the establishment, every man of worth, of talent, or of honour, has ranged himself by their side; and nothing now remains against *Irish Union*, but 25,000, as near as may be, of bigots, hirelings, and dependants, just enough to furnish the Lord Lieutenant with addresses.”

Same.

“ To Irish Women.

“ In political changes you have been frequently the actuating principle; then, Oh! determine to act for the melioration of your country in the *mighty crisis which awaits her*.

“ It is absurd to suppose that there is not a preponderancy of rectitude either on the *part of the Government*, or of the people; if, then, justice be on one side of the question, impartiality is not only pusillanimous, but criminal. I only

urge you to *investigate and choose* your opinions. This is your bounden duty; if you perform it, and abstract the consideration from prejudice, I have no doubt you will determine as you ought; I have no doubt that Erin will have to boast a race of daughters, as patriotic as they are fair, as magnanimous as they are lovely. I know your arms are not sinewed to buffet the surge of war; you have a far different field for exertion; be it yours to conciliate, to animate, to persuade. Truth, in its most stern and rugged form, is respectable; but, when it assumes the guise of woman, it is irresistible."

No. 39.—26th December, 1797.

"To the Lord Lieutenant.

"The day is fast approaching when you will be struck with a sense of your duty, but perhaps too late; when promises and threats will be equally despised by a people determined to be free."

Same.

A Christmas-box to the readers of the *Press*, concluding, after recommending sobriety and orderly behaviour to the United Irishmen; "In vain would the coward, who lurks for the moment, when success may determine him to come forward to reap a harvest which he had not sown, expect that such cold-blooded policy will avail him. *He may escape the punishment by which many guilty persons must prepare to make atonement for their public crimes*; but contempt and impunity can be his only reward. Lastly, in the language of the great apostle, "We charge ye, brethren, that you love one another; for it is a goodly thing to dwell together in unity and brotherly love;" and *when your courage and constancy shall have triumphed over your oppressors, yours may yet be the delightful prerogative of tempering justice and mercy.*"

No. 41.—2d January, 1798.

"To the People of Ireland.

"Be steady, my friends, for without steadiness resolution is a weak virtue. Your sufferings cannot always last, and Europe may yet see you *forgiving* those who now whip and scourge you. Government, even the worst and wickedest, is still Government, and *while it lasts*, some respect is due to it? Submission to present circumstances will demonstrate how worthy you are to participate of that reform, in

pursuit of which the best have bled, and which, be assured, your virtue must attain."

Same.

"But the night of sorrow is receding, and the day-star of liberty rises fast upon it. The philosophy that has enlightened the continent approaches to illuminate your isle. She rides upon the waves, and navies sink before her; she steps upon the shore, and armies disappear. *Her virtue is your own*; for philosophy is truth, and truth is success."

No. 43.—6th January, 1798.

"It is both dangerous and unprofitable to oppress the poor. If it should happen that the soldiery and the people should make one common cause, as they have common interest and common feelings, the rich must prepare to make way for new possessors, and, when it is too late, repent the honest warnings which our faithful columns have so often afforded them."

No. 44.—9th January, 1798.

"The union of the brotherhood is daily increasing in Scotland, to the great annoyance of his Majesty's ministers."

No. 47.—16th January, 1798.

"United Irishmen,—Their meetings were made felonies. They steadily kept their ground; they have been, like the early Christians, persecuted, put to death and torture—they have still persevered. At one time one hundred thousand men were made felons by a Parliament, *of which we do not mean to speak any more*; they were driven to more solemn obligations of fidelity and secrecy. We believe they are now, with the exception of a few thousands, commensurate with the population of the nation.

"May they still be merciful, temperate, and just. They may, perhaps, soon have an opportunity of showing, by acts of mercy and forgiveness, more sublime than fortune has yet put it into their power to exercise, that virtue which it shall be our province to cultivate and foster."

Same.

"—This day the Lord-Lieutenant and the King's Parliament went to Christ's Church to return thanks for the *last* victory."

No. 48.—18th January, 1798.

"To the Yeomen of Ireland.

"Some of you, perhaps, may think you have an interest in a life of bondage; grievously will you find yourselves mis-

taken; a day of reckoning will come, when the utmost farthing must be paid. Look around you; count the millions that are bursting their chains, and say which has the majority, *you* or the *nation*? Adhere to that duty from which no oath can absolve you: *Protect your country and its laws.*

“But your King. The history of your country has told you that allegiance and protection are mutual; and that, could the monarch violate the laws, your oath of allegiance would be an oath *of resistance*. Will you be the Irish ‘gentry,’ that, Lord Grenville says, join in the murders of their country? Or would you not rather be that generous Irish people who, he says, *do resist abuse*?”

Same.

“The Disunited Men.

“The Disunited Men say, there can be no conciliation with *traitors*; we hope, however, that *traitors as they are, they will find that mercy which they did not show*, such of them at least as are not steeped to the very eyes ‘in crimes of deadly hue.’ Arson, conspiracy, subornation, perjury, and murder cannot be forgiven. Libels and cheats may be forgiven; folly and malice despised. Ponder on this, ye Disunited Men.”

No. 51.—25th January, 1798.

“To their High Mightinesses the Generals, Lieutenant-Generals, &c., Non-commissioned Officers, Drummers, and Privates now exercising the Power of Government in Ireland.

“The Petition of the poor afflicted People of Ireland, *united in Misfortune* and Affection to each other, and in humble duty to your Highnesses, &c.

“We do dutifully implore your Highnesses to do all seeming justice towards yourselves; and seeing so little profit and advantage there is, or has been, in destroying the habitations, &c., of your *poor* and dutiful subjects; and seeing how many palaces and castles, &c., there be in the hands of your inveterate enemies, &c., and many bishoprics, rectories, and other offices in church and state there be, we, therefore, pray your Highnesses to take the same to your non-gracious use, and to consider what goodly bishops, judges, lawyers, speakers, marquisses, counsellors, and tasters of wine your Mightinesses would make; and, above all, how much *easier* is the burthen of spending a few thousand pounds by the year, than that of carrying a knapsack and firelock, as the greater

part of you at present do ; and we pledge ourselves to assist you in the said just and necessary undertaking—for God and for man—for religion—for our rights and liberties—for Magna Charta—the Bill of Rights—the trial by jury—and our most blessed constitution in Church and State,” &c.

No. 52.—27th January, 1798.

From Mr. Roger O'Connor's Third Letter.

“Thanks to the God of nature, who works by means inscrutable to mortal ken, Grenville, Pitt, and Jenkinson have done wonders ; they have nearly realized our fond hopes of seeing those abuses which have hitherto withstood the ineffectual struggles of divided kingdoms, fall prostrate before the moderate but determined exertions of united nations.”

No. 56.—6th February, 1798.

“To Correspondents.

“We have received a dialogue between a venerable old countryman and a soldier, in which the countryman seduces the soldier from murder and robbery ; but shows, that even though it be loyal, and for the good of religious and social order, to murder and plunder, it is both safer, and more profitable, to rob the rich than the poor.”

No. 57.—8th February, 1798.

“The People.

“Happy would it be for their oppressors were the present silence of the people *the silence of death* ; but thrice happy for the people, it is only the *silence of sleep*. The night is nearly spent, and the morning breaks * * * * *. Your Lordship (the Lord-Lieutenant) may have the happiness of seeing that the Irish people *are as valiant in the field as they are patient under torture, and resigned at the scaffold.*”

No. 58.—10th February, 1798.

“The Presbyterian of Ulster wishes for life only that he may see his *country free*, and all the people partaking equally the rights and privileges of citizens ; *nothing less is their object than the independence of Ireland, and the freedom of all its inhabitants*. Trust me, the Presbyterians of Ulster do by no means wish to see you sit down contented with cold Catholic Emancipation as a *gift* from any Government : no ; they wish to see you, by your own energy, rescue yourselves from that oppression you have so long laboured under ; and in doing so, they are ready to *risk* everything in the common cause.”

Same.

"What a glorious prospect opens to the view of every honest Irishman. The administration is reduced to this dreadful precipice, that if it moves forward, it is dashed to pieces; and if it attempts to retreat, certain destruction is its fate. Thus, in the very nature of things, the dissolution of the present system is inevitable; and the freedom of Ireland is as certainly approaching as the noontide blaze advances from the early dawn. A little patience will soon terminate our sufferings. Perseverance in union, and brotherly affection, will, for the present, alleviate them. We hear of your sufferings and your *virtues*; we are also suffering with you in the same cause; and the time is not far distant when our *passive virtues, impregnated with the active ones*, shall procure for Ireland her rights; shall hurl confusion and destruction on her enemies; shall avenge the names of her slaughtered patriots; indemnify the sufferings of those who may escape the proscription, and consolidate the everlasting glory, happiness, and peace of Ireland."

No. 61.—17th February, 1798.

"To the People of Ireland.

"Your masters are alarmed. They will propose a reform in Parliament, not so much to divide you (for that they know is impossible) as to paralyze your efforts, and to shake that which they cannot pull down. Trust them not. Whilst they thought you disunited and unable to resist tyranny, they reviled and insulted you; but at the name of the Great Nation they shrunk into their own worthlessness. Although they hear its thunders breaking on their heads, and see its armies pouring destruction on them,—while those thunders rolled at a distance, they despised the noise, for men are apt to be brave when they apprehend no danger; but as the sound approaches, their dread increases with its nearness, and appalled at the power they had so often defied, they lower the loftiness of their air, and assume the tones of moderation, &c. If they be sincere in their professions of reform, let the axe be laid to the root. What signifies the chippings and shearings of a few withered leaves, while the whole trunk is rotten? Let the tree be cut down and cast into the fire, it has but too long cumbered the ground; beware of them; when they have overreached you, and got you in their power, they will return to their old system, and afterwards laugh at you. Neither must you hope a second

time to be relieved ; but be *steady*, and do not act *profanely* ; thwart not that kind Providence which is working your deliverance.

No. 61.—17th February, 1798.

“ We must deplore his (Col. Mansergh St. George's) death, as the melancholy consequence of that pernicious system of Pitt and his associates, which, by hollowing the *rich* against the *poor*, the Protestant against the Papist, weakly endeavours to prevent an union, which must terminate in the destruction of their power and the punishment of their crimes ; a very short time, however, will expose those assassins in their true colours.”

No. 63.—22d February, 1798.

“ What a people can do the people of North America have done, what a people ought to do the people of Ireland are considering.”

Same.

“ The Press will continue to its last hour to despise its adversaries ; and be it silenced when it may it will live in the remembrance of Irishmen, whose union is now complete, *who know their duties, and will perform them.*

“ The disposition to repel oppression and massacre are clearly augmented by the late determination to pursue, and, of consequence, to increase rigorous measures against the people of this land. But men, when inspired by liberty, will not long deliberate on adopting what nature prompts, freedom, or—else.”

EXTRACT from a LETTER in No. 68 of the Press, which was seized on the day of its intended publication, addressed to the Author of Coercion :—

“ My Lord, the ancients entertained a superstition that in certain circumstances men were irresistibly impelled by some secret power to their own destruction, or, to use a word which seems to be immediately derived from the superstition, that they were infatuated ; such my Lord, at present, seems your situation. You seem to shut your eyes on the situation of this country—you seem incapable of deriving any advantage from the example of another country. The hand of fate seems upon you, and you still go on as foolishly confident, and as madly gay, as the insect that flutters round the torch, or the bird that cannot resist the fascination of the serpent's jaws that are extended to devour him.”

“ I know, my Lord, you plume yourself on the imaginary

safety of your situation. But pride not yourself any longer on that circumstance; deceive yourself no more. I tell you, you are in danger; think not to screen yourself behind the shield of parliamentary support; they will avail you nothing in the dread moment of national retribution, and amid the confusion of revolutionary vengeance.

“At such a moment, if, unhappily, perseverance in your present conduct should induce it, the sacred person of the judge will not be respected; your elevated situation will not protect you; the formalities of trial may be laid aside; the cautious and established rules of evidence may be exploded; at such a juncture the forms of law may not be insulted to justify your execution. There will be no necessity for suborned testimony, or intoxicated jurymen, to procure your condemnation. Ireland can afford the clearest evidence of your crimes; the unanimous voice of its inhabitants will pronounce you guilty; on such an occasion our disgust against the duty of the executioner will be suspended, and men will contend for the honour of terminating so destructive an existence.”

No. X.

PRINTED HAND BILLS distributed by the UNITED IRISHMEN.

Address to the more wealthy classes of United Irishmen.

“You to whom fortunate circumstances give a power of promoting the public cause with so much general efficacy and so little personal risk, who may alleviate, from a portion of your superfluities, the sufferings of those adventurous brethren, whom an over-ardent, but, on the whole, a necessary zeal, has subjected to the vengeance of Government, whilst a cautious reserve has exempted most of you from persecution; we call upon you in what we trust is a well-founded confidence, that you will make up, by pecuniary contributions, for the deficiency or neglect of other exertions. We know that all men cannot be useful in the same way, and do not desire that men in delicate situations should run unnecessary hazards; but he surely is a lukewarm patriot, without title to confidence or credit, who goes no further than barren professions, thinks it enough to give a *toast* to the cause of liberty, or utter some *sneaking condemnation* of the atrocities of Government.

“Unless it be your own faults, men of wealth and education, you will be the first to profit by the reform of abuses

and solid independence of your country. You, for the most part, have yet escaped from the vengeance of its enemies, whilst they who laboured to prepare it have, some of them, been deprived of life, others lost health and fortunes, some were hurried to distant climes and regions of pestilence and death; and many, very many, linger at this moment in the bastiles of our tyrants. Imprisonment, a thing so horrible in itself, is aggravated in the case of those virtuous men whose invincible fidelity an abandoned Administration persecutes with the utmost rigour. The common attentions which humanity seldom refuses to felons and murderers are frequently withheld from the United Irishmen, and being withheld by order (it is said) of those in high authority, require to be supplied by more than ordinary means.

"As far as our funds could hitherto allow some provision has been made for the wants of our brethren, but from the irregularity that has crept into the payment of subscriptions, and, with the exception of a few bright examples, the small obligation they as yet owe to the rich, our means are inadequate to the relief of our fellow-sufferers. Where an industrious citizen is torn from his employment or pursuits, lies captive in a dungeon,—where a wife with her children is robbed of the protection of her companion, every person, a friend to the cause for which he suffers and which his virtue scorns to betray, will feel the call of duty and of honour to come forward in his support.

"If a trial at last be granted *innocence has still to pay for being defended*; it has still to struggle with an host of *suborned or tutored witnesses*, a bar of *crown lawyers, packed juries*, sometimes *prejudiced*, sometimes *corrupt judges*, before whom a *charge* must be twice refuted, *malice* twice confounded, and *innocence made clearer than the sun* to obtain a verdict of acquittal.

"What under heaven can more forcibly interest the generous mind than the sufferings of the imprisoned United Irishmen, and the virtue of the sufferers. Whilst Administration does not disdain to proffer immense sums as a lure to *perfidy* and the *purchase-money of blood*, it can procure but a few outcasts only, already abandoned to every species of vice; and the jails overflow with our persecuted, penniless brethren. Of those, several have scorned to save their lives by treachery to their glorious cause, but carried their principles and their secrets inviolate to the grave; and many more at this hour, with the sword of despotism threatening

their existence, hold them in their faithful bosoms, as in a citadel, which cowardice will not surrender, or lucre ever buy.

“ Oh, much injured countrymen ! so often contemned by your foreign oppressors, more culpably reviled by some unnatural natives of the land, traitors to your interests and strangers to your virtues, what nation can boast a higher character of honour than you now confer upon your own ? With the terrors of punishment and death on one side, the allurements of reward and impunity on the other, you inflexibly adhere to your plighted faith and obligations, and exhibit a proof of moral character and integrity which few people have ever equalled, none have ever surpassed. Much injured and gallant countrymen ! a day will come when your magnanimous patience will be requited. It shall not be forgotten, that although your dwellings were destroyed, your little property laid waste, though fear is a stranger to your hearts, and you lost all you had to lose, yet did you hearken to the voice of reason dissuading from premature resistance, which alone can bring ruin upon your country, or frustrate the brilliant destiny that awaits it.

“ Why should Irishmen, bound to each other by ties so sacred and so honourable, be found less zealous in each other's support, than their enemies are zealous to put them down ? If imprisonment be applied to torture, patriotism it cannot conquer ; yet shall a brotherhood of affection go forth into the cell, and, besides the consolation of sympathy, carry with it the little comforts of which nature stands in need.

“ And, if perchance this address should fall into other hands than those for whom it was intended, we conjure such people to bestow one moment's dispassionate reflection upon the *views and measures* of Government, and the *object and proceedings* of the United Irish : let them determine which is better, a *free Legislature* or a *pensioned Parliament*, a *national administration* or an *irresponsible foreign executive*, an *oblivion of religious animosities* or the *exterminating persecution of Orangemen*. Let them, if they be children of this soil, contrast the system of Irish union with that of English dissension ; the fidelity, patriotism, and honour of the supporters of *one*, with the *polluted spy*, the *blood-thirsty magistrate*, the *merciless bravo*, the *venal and sanguinary senator*, who rank as the friends of the present Government. When they shall have compared the men and the measures

they will feel that their properties and lives will be most secure under the protection of the United Irish, and that their exaggerated fears of the effects of a revolution can have no foundation, unless in their own misconduct."

" IRISHMEN,

" The period is fast approaching which must fix our destiny. The present rulers of Ireland have extended the system to tyranny and extermination, as far as can be executed without depriving them of worshippers and slaves; not satisfied with fleecing the people, and mercilessly exposing them to penury and want, they glut themselves with blood.—

" ' See with what heat these dogs of hell advance,
To waste and havoc yonder world, so fair
And good created.'

" Ah, whence that noise ! Cometh it from the spirits of murdered friends, the groans of imprisoned patriots ? No, your groans shall not be heard in vain ; you shall be revenged. Soon shall we hail that auspicious day, ushered in by a bright and cloudless sky, which shall set you free, accompanied by a general shout of *Ireland as it should be*. Tremble, then, ye ministers of death ere that day arrives : fly from a soil which you have cursed by your counsels, which you have polluted by your crimes.

" COUNTRYMEN,

" Be firm, trust in your strength, be united ; before one month passes you shall be free. Honoured patriots become more respectable by captivity ; and you, ye virtuous fugitives, with hearts of sterling worth, be not appalled at the gorgeous show of power exhibited. A few declining suns, and it passeth away, never more to sully our horizon. Be of good comfort, the hearts of the people are with you, and soon shall you receive the marked gratitude of a free people.

" We are accused of a predilection for French principles. Supposing the fact, who forced them on us ? Men who have taken from us that which not enriches them, and makes us poor indeed ; usurpers, who exceed in persecution the human sacrifices of former ages : but they mistake ; we contend only for Irish rights ; and whatever coincidence there be between the rights of Ireland and France, has been established by the God of Nature ; and who shall impiously disjoin them ?

“ FRIENDS,

“ Liberty, like the great orb of nature, has its periods of darkness and effulgence ; but let us not vainly imagine, that what is only contingent can interrupt the great plan of the Deity in perfecting the happiness of mankind. We, as a portion of intellectual beings, want not the moral freedom to will, nor the physical power to act. The first is confirmed by the union, and, to support our claim to both, half a million of heroes are ready. Yes, they only wait the second coming to commence the millenium of freedom.

“ And thou, noble-minded youth, whose princely virtues acquire new splendour from a fervent zeal for your country's rights. Oh ! may the genius of liberty, ever faithful to its votaries, guard your steps. May the new harp of Erin vibrate its thrilling sounds through the land to call you forth, and hail you with the angelic cry of the deliverer of our country.

“ 27th March 1798.

A CITIZEN.”

“ To the United Irishmen.

“ At this awful and important crisis, when the tyrants of Ireland violate every tie that binds man to society, when ‘*rigour beyond the law*’ is avowed and practised by the governors, and adopted as a defensive duty by the governed, when the judicial bench is made the seat of assassination, where Yelverton weeps over the victim in the refinement of cruelty, or Toler, with less equivocation, mingles the coarse wit of a horse-jockey with the solemnity of a sentence that dooms an Irishman to death, when the art of printing, that invaluable bulwark of liberty, that inestimable source of happiness, that powerful opponent of despotism, is openly and contemptuously annihilated by the servants and slaves of a foreign government, *assuming the mockery of legislators*, like a divan of *Saracens*, or a war-council of *Vandals*, sweeping with barbarian ferocity every written monument of knowledge, every trace of letters from the face of the land. Worthy progeny of the first English invaders, whose savage legislation banished instruction by transporting and hanging the Irish teachers, under the specious pretext of eradicating the Catholic faith. Infamous oppressors ! How unlike the generous ambition of ancient Rome, who carried the arts into the countries she conquered : she polished the nations into which she bore her eagles. Where *your* banners waved you created enormity, barbarism, and extermination.

As a French orator truly said, ‘you would rather reign over a churchyard than cease to govern.’

“When an O’Connor is hunted from his country, and a conspiracy made in the British Cabinet against his life, for the crime of loving Ireland; when Fitzgerald is a fugitive for sacrificing the prejudices of birth to accelerate the happiness of his country, and repelling with the arms of justice that infamous power which burns the peasant out of his dwelling, or puts him on the bayonet; when the honourable trade of a merchant, the peaceable one of a physician, the learned profession of a lawyer, the humble one of a husbandman or an artist, are no protection against a persecution that is directed against the virtue and integrity of Irishmen, that will eradicate the name of Ireland, if not speedily checked in its horrid career by an united appeal to Heaven, which will ultimately give to our armed exertions the means of victory, liberty, and terrible justice.

“In the preparative interim let sobriety be national and unchangeable; by abstaining totally from the use of *spirituous liquors* you will destroy the excise, which is the only branch of revenue remaining, from whence is produced the *principal strength of Government*; you will prevent the distillation of grain, which consumes nearly *double the quantity* that is otherwise used for the necessaries of life; you will consequently make bread one-third cheaper, benefit the community, and embarrass your enemies,

“To promote this desirable object, let the following test be taken:—

“I, A. B. do solemnly promise, by the obligation of an U. I. which I have taken, that I will not make use of any spirituous liquors, nor suffer them to be used where I have any influence, for _____ months, nor will I associate with any person who will violate this sacred obligation.”

“IRISHMEN,

“A new act of base and perfidious tyranny, directed against the whole of the patriotism of Ireland, though immediately and personally operating only on a few individuals, has deprived us for a time of the countenance and consolation of honest and able men, whose only crime is the suspicion of being your friends. Our oppressors, despairing to effect by the most subtle refinements of legalized murder, by partial sheriffs, by packed juries, and by judges sanguinary, timid or corrupt, the destruction of the victims whom

they had predoomed to die at the approaching assizes, so long as they could leave them the protection of faithful and eloquent advocates, known to be zealous in their cause, and pledged in their defence, have robbed the latter of liberty, in order to rob the former of life.

“That Administration, and that Legislature, who so lately told you *there was no conciliation for Ireland*, have with perfect consistency followed up this denunciation of carnage and proscription, of fire and sword, of robbery and rape. This explicit and unequivocal *declaration of war* on the Irish people, by a proceeding which leaves not a shadow of doubt or ambiguity to disguise their intentions; which forces four hundred thousand fighting-men, the physical strength of Ireland, to make, in convenient time, their final option between death and self-defence; and which proves, by evidence more than palpable, that this nation and that administration cannot exist together.

“Yet has this, their last treason, like all their former ones, turned, with an overwhelming recoil, upon themselves. On the memorable day which saw so many virtuous and respectable citizens of Dublin dragged ignominiously to prison, by arbitrary mandates *unsupported by information on oath*, confusion and trepidation marked the conduct of the oppressors, while the unclouded serenity, the calm unassuming fortitude of conscious innocence, beamed from the countenances of the oppressed. With mingled horror and contempt the capital saw the *Prime-Miscreant*, the Robespierre of Ireland, the nefarious author and apologist of atrocities without name and number, appalled by the mere gaze of Irish eyes, and shaking in a paroxysm of rage and terror, while the murderous weapon trembled in his palsied hand, the strong thirst of blood struggling in vain with the still stronger impulses of conscious guilt and native cowardice.

“For us, the keen but momentary anxiety, occasioned by the situation of our invaluable friends, subsided, on learning all the circumstances of the case, into a calm tranquillity, a consoling conviction of mind, that they are as safe as innocence can make men now; and to these sentiments were quickly added a redoubled energy, a twofold activity of exertion which has already produced the happiest effects. *The organization of the capital is perfect* No vacancies existing, arrangements have been made, and are still making, to secure for our oppressed brethren, whose trials approach, the benefit of legal defence; and the sentinels whom you have

appointed to watch over your interests, stand firm at their posts, vigilant of events, and prompt to give you notice and advice, which, on every occasion at all requiring it, rely on receiving.

“ This recital, Irishmen, is meant to guard those of you who are remote from the scene of the late events, against the consequences of misrepresentation and mistake. The most unfounded rumours have been set afloat, fabricated for the double purpose of delusion and intimidation. Your enemies *talk* of treachery, in the vain and fallacious hope of *creating* it; but you, who scorn equally to be their dupes or their slaves, will meet their forgeries with dignified contempt, incapable of being either goaded into untimely violence, or sunk into pusillanimous despondency. Be firm, Irishmen, but be cool and cautious; be patient yet awhile; trust to no unauthorized communications; and, above all, we warn you, again and again we warn you, against doing the work of your tyrants, by *premature*, by *partial*, or *divided* exertion. If Ireland shall be forced to throw away the scabbard, let it be at *her own* time, not at *theirs*.

“ *Dublin, 17th March (St. Patrick's-day), 1798.*”

“ To the United Irishmen. ”

COUNTRYMEN,

“ No moment was ever so awful to Ireland as the present one. Liberty or slavery is now before us. That the decision is in your hand, I am well assured. Glorious prospect! The people of Ireland are united. Show the pitiful tyrants who calumniate you—show the world that you are a *band of brothers*, actuated by a sense of honour, virtue, and patriotism. Show an example of the effects of your principles in Armagh. The hills and valleys which were lately stained with blood, are now covered by the *real* spirit of the Gospel, and peace, and love, and charity, and union reign in the hearts of Irishmen! Look at this, ye traducers, ye dividers, ye devourers of Ireland. Yes, thank heaven, we are united, and that our enemies know right well. Let not the honest indignation of your virtuous souls provoke you to a word or an action unworthy of your country or your cause, when you hear yourselves termed ‘ a nest of execrable and infamous traitors.’ You must learn to smile at the impotent attacks of malignant despair.

“ Look at the map, says a ministerial character, and you will find that Ireland *must* belong to England or France.

What occasion to look at the map, or why employ the word *must*? But, if this be the decree of Fate for Ireland, let it be done with unanimity, with love, and with power; let no internal broils, no local situations, no religious opinions, ever provoke an *Irishman* to spill the blood of an *Irishman*.

"But let us, for the sake of our common interest, for the sake of our common country, for the sake of our common God and Father, go with one hand and one heart *together*.

"Trouble not yourselves whether France is to send forty or fifty thousand troops here; whether England is to send fifty thousand troops here; but turn your attention to Ireland,—think of what she was, what she is, and what she *may* be. Think, that were you to divide, as in *former days*, and one part to seek protection and assistance from one of those powerful nations, the other part from the other nation, what carnage and rivers of blood would ensue; slavery would follow, and Ireland be undone perhaps for ever. But in your union is your safety, in your union is your strength, your importance, and your liberty. In whatever scale your weight is cast, it will preponderate in an instant. He is your enemy, and the man of blood, who would divide you; he is your friend, and the man of peace, who would keep you together.

"I am far from assuming so much importance as to attempt laying down a plan of conduct at this critical period. Your obedience to the laws, your sobriety, industry, prudence, and patience, have rendered you the envy of your enemies, and make anything I could say unnecessary.

"*Your will* must prevail; let it then be matured; let it result from reflection; from cool, determined adherence to your principles; from a regard to the peace of your country; from the glorious love of liberty and the *Irish* name.

"If your hearts pant after a continuation of the British Minister's behaviour to Ireland; if you admire the war, the conduct of the war, and the consequences of the war; if you be satisfied that three-fourths of the people of Ireland should not enjoy the benefits of the constitution; that the very name of Reform should be scouted with derision; if the suspension of the trial by jury, the Convention Bill, the Gunpowder Bill, the proclamations and bastiles appear eligible and salutary, you will have no difficulty how to conduct yourselves. But should these things appear to you in a different point of view, it will be necessary, perhaps, to conduct yourselves in a different manner. And that that manner may terminate in the glory, liberty, and happiness of Ireland, ought to be the honest wish of every *honest Irishman*."

PRINTED PAPERS against taking BANK NOTES and purchasing QUIT-RENTS.

“ A Caution to the Brethren.

“ Those appointed by you to superintend your interests, have, from time to time, sent you such advice or information as they were enabled, from reflection or inquiry, to offer for your advantage and the general good.

“ Still actuated by the same principle of zeal and fidelity, they deem it their duty to caution you against the immense quantity of bank notes which Government is fabricating without bounds. We need not tell you that the value of any bank note rests upon the credit of him who issues it. And in our opinion, the issuer of this paper is a bankrupt, who in all likelihood must shortly shut up, and *run away*. The present convenience of circulation will be but poor amends for the subsequent beggary and ruin it will bring on the holders; for you know it will be waste paper, and must stop somewhere as soon as there is a *burst*; and that the possessor (God help him) will be robbed of so much property as he has taken it for.

“ Sometimes people accept of rap-halfpence for the convenience of change; but that is by far not so foolish as taking these bank notes; for a tinker or brassfounder will give you something for base metal; but when the Government *goes down*, these fine notes of theirs, with stamps of *hundreds and thousands* upon them, will not fetch a *penny a pound* at a snuff-shop. Besides, Government has a great many guineas in the banks and elsewhere, which there is a design of hoarding up against the *hard push*, when these folks are very certain their bank notes will not be worth as much as the old rags they were made of. But if you'll not give the Government contractors or commissioners your goods without *hard cash*, they must shell out the *gold*. What is the worst that can happen to you, but to sell somewhat less, until the want of your commodities makes them pay for them in proper coin; or if you don't sell, is it not better for you to have your goods than to give them *for nothing*.”

“ The United Irishmen to the Landed and Monied Interests of Ireland.

“ Whereas it has been proposed by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* to sell the *quit-rents* of the Crown, in order to raise new supplies for the prosecution of this unjust, unnecessary, and ruinous war. Now, we, the United Irishmen, impelled by a sense of public duty, and a sincere regard to

the *rights of property*, think fit to give you this public caution, that no such fraudulent transaction, consuming by anticipation the resources and future revenues of the nation, will be sufficient to stand good in the event of a revolution and a free Legislature; a fair and solid bargain must have the sanction of due authority; but this, as well as every other loan or contract now in agitation, is in itself invalidated by the nefariousness of its object, and the incompetency of the present Parliament to bind the nation by any act whatsoever, as it is notorious to the whole world that it was named by the Crown, under the *terrors of martial law*; that there exists in it no freedom of action, but that it is the bought, base instrument of supporting an exterminating Government and foreign dominion.

"After this let the dupes blame themselves."

HAND BILLS DISTRIBUTED ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS among the
SOLDIERS.

"SOLDIERS,

"Whether English, Scotch, or Irish, at this awful and alarming period, when the legislature of the country seems determined on precipitating it from one danger to another, let me entreat you not to forget you are still men. Seduction made you soldiers, but nature made you men. Let her call awaken every noble and generous sentiment in your breasts, never to turn your arms against your fellow-men, whose crimes are hatred to tyranny and oppression, and a love of liberty. For this we are styled traitors and rebels, but by whom? By those who are themselves the worst of traitors; those who have betrayed the people, who have rebelled against the rights of man, and exercise their despotism upon us because we espouse their cause. Your cause, 'tis a common one, and English, Scotch, Irish, are alike interested in it. Our tyrants talk of treason, forgetting there can be none except against the rights and interests of the people. The people could *flourish* and would flourish without them; but what are they without the people? It is the people pays both them and you. Let the English soldier consider the severity, the burdens enormous under which his country (which probably contains all his dearest connexions) groans, for the redress of which Britons are *now* united. Let the Scotch soldier weigh the same considerations, (and recollect the recent massacres at *Tranent*), and for the redress of which Scotchmen are now united, and then, if they can, let

them consider *us* for struggling for liberty, of which we sincerely wish them to participate, and, if they cannot, never let them turn their arms against us. The Irish soldier cannot forget that he is an

“ 31st March, 1798.

IRISHMAN.”

“ To the Soldiers of Ireland.

“ FELLOW CITIZENS AND FELLOW SOLDIERS,

“ Permit a countryman to address you in a few words upon a few plain facts, and if any of you feel with me the positions I shall lay down, I entreat you by all that can be dear to man to forward its influence amongst your brethren in arms ; but in doing so let the cautious conduct you pursue lull suspicion to rest in those tyrants, who now, under the colour of commanding, dare enslave such brave men, as I trust none of you will fail proving himself when the day shall arrive.

“ First—Let me ask you, is there one amongst you (particularly those who have been reared in the country) whose dearest relations and most intimate friends do not reside in your respective counties ? I answer, none ; and you must feel if they are exposed to danger.

“ Secondly—Which of you that has not formed in his mind a hope of one day (when the period of military service is expired) revisiting his dear friends, and spending an honoured age in the bosom of his parents in peace and tranquillity, reanimated by the scenes his boyish days played truant in, looking with fond remembrance on the village that gave him birth, and cheering a lonely winter in the companionable society of perhaps a loving wife and rising offspring. You all expect to do so ; not a man of you but must have formed the most sanguine hopes of doing so.

“ But, my countrymen, what must your feelings be, how check your indignant manly rage, when every day adds peril to their existence, when each day gives a melancholy sad account, (which I do not hesitate to say is concealed from you,) of their being murdered by those Orangemen in power, hunted by those paid to defend them in your absence, and, with shame I must add, by some of our own countrymen, debased and degenerated by becoming dupes to the murderous Orange faction now lording it through the land. Irish blood freezes at the scenes of persecution carried on against our countrymen, against your families and friends ; not an Irish heart but beats with redoubled ardour to face such

bloodhounds, and not an Irish hand but would wield a sabre to have revenge!

“My countrymen, what can you say when you hear of scenes of blood acting on the spot where your native hamlets once stood, but now no more; their owners (your friends) either sent to seek repose in the grave by the hands of those villainous Orange murderers, or immured in the damp and dreary dungeons of the bastiles of this country, pining in chill despondency, waiting for a trial seldom obtained, and when obtained acquitted, after years of dreary solitary confinement!! Some hurried on board prison ships, some actually transported to the settlements on the coast of Africa, others sent to serve in the West Indies, certain victims to the climate; or left to rot, chained in the hold of a filthy coasting vessel! Your wives despoiled to gratify the insatiable lust of these ravishers! and these scenes, my countrymen, suffered to go unpunished by those in power, whom they protect; to whose frowns your array adds terror; to whom you give your support, for unless you please they vanish; without your protection these despots fall, these desolators, that each day refine on such bloody deeds, would perish, and your country be free. My brave countrymen, do not let the world call us dastards: No, let us show the world we are men, and above all, that we are Irishmen. Let every man among you feel the injuries your country, yourselves have suffered; the insults you have received, the stripes that have been dealt with an unmerciful hand on those brave comrades who dared think and feel for their country. If you do, the glorious work will be complete, and in the union of the citizen and his brave fellow-soldier, the world (hitherto thought to look down upon us with contempt) will see that we can emancipate our country; we will convince surrounding nations that Irish soldiers have avowed, and adopted a maxim that they will maintain or perish, namely, *That every man should be a soldier in defence of his liberty but none to take away the liberty of others.*

“*Westmeath, 27th March, 1798.*

SHAMROCK.”

“Dublin Garrison.

“The great difficulties which the soldiers have laboured under from the lowness of their pay, has long been known and acknowledged, and has been borne by them with an unexampled degree of patience. The subsistence money of the soldiers, at present, is no more than three shillings and

sixpence per week, a sum insufficient to maintain in any degree of comfort a single man, and totally inadequate to maintain a man who has a wife and family, which many of us have ; if the pay is compared with that of a labourer or a porter in this city, the difference is immense. The pay of the sailors is now fixed at one shilling British per day, exclusive of which they have a profuse allowance of meat, of beer, and of spirit, which keeps them comfortable, and enables them to save sufficiently for the maintenance of their wives and families. We, the soldiers of the garrison of Dublin, who have long cheerfully submitted to a very severe garrison duty, and who will not even for a moment allow that we are inferior to any body of men in loyalty to our King and country, have unanimously agreed humbly to represent to Government the insufficiency of our present pay, and that we are convinced that one shilling per day subsistence money would be a moderate allowance for the infantry, with a proportionate advance to the cavalry and artillery, to be paid in money and not in paper ; and in order to have those moderate and just claims brought to a conclusion, we have determined to remain in our present quarters until they are settled to our satisfaction, and we recommend in the most earnest manner to every regiment throughout the kingdom to assist us in obtaining this just and reasonable demand.

“ Dublin, 29th April, 1797.”

The following hand-bill was distributed in Cork, in March 1798, exciting the soldiers to mutiny :—

“ To Militia men.

*“ Two of your body are to be murdered, and you will be called on to be the murderers. You will be told that you have sworn to obey your officers, and that you are in danger of being punished if you refuse to be executioners ; but I tell you you are bound to resist such a command, and the people who have affixed a watchful eye on all your proceedings will never excuse you from such an act. From the moment the trigger is drawn by which they are to be butchered, you cease to have the confidence of the *men of Erin*. Refuse to fire ; refuse to be the executioners of your tyrants' damnable orders ; who dares to call you to account ? The whole people will defend and shield you ; they will feed and lodge and clothe you ; they will warm you in their bosoms ; as you behave now your country will consider you for ever. Oh !*

militia men, you will all be shot one by one, if you don't at once put a stop to slaughter.

“Did you not hear how the brave men of the Carlow militia, at Blaris Camp, refused to shoot two of their comrades ; another regiment was called on for the purpose. They refused to be murderers. A Scotch regiment was singled out ; even they refused, yet not one of them was punished. Who dares to punish you if you are true to each other ? Now is the time to prove yourselves.”

NO. XI.

THE DECLARATION, RESOLUTIONS, and CONSTITUTION of the SOCIETIES of UNITED IRISHMEN.*

Declarations and Resolutions.

In the present great æra of reform, when unjust governments are falling in every quarter of Europe ; when religious persecution is compelled to abjure the tyranny of conscience ; when the rights of men are ascertained in theory, and that theory substantiated in practice ; when antiquity can no longer defend absurd and oppressive forms against the common sense and common interests of mankind ; when all governments are acknowledged to originate from the people, and to be so far only obligatory, as they protect their rights and promote their welfare ; we think it our duty as Irishmen to come forward and state what we feel to be a heavy grievance, and what we know to be its effectual remedy. We have no national government. We are ruled by Englishmen, and the servants of Englishmen, whose object is the interest of another country, whose instrument is corruption, and whose strength is the weakness of Ireland ; and these men have the whole power and patronage of the country as means to seduce and subdue the honesty of her representatives in the legislature. Such extrinsic power, acting with uniform forces, in a direction too frequently opposite to the true line of our obvious interests, can only be resisted with effect solely by the unanimity, decision, and spirit of the people—qualities which may be exerted most legally, constitutionally, and efficaciously, by that measure

* Found upon James Quigley, when he and Arthur O'Connor were arrested at Margate on their way to France, on the 28th February 1798, and read on their trial at the desire of Arthur O'Connor.

essential to the prosperity and freedom of Ireland, an equal representation of all the people in Parliament. We do not here mention our grievances, the rejection of a Place Bill, of a Pension Bill, of a Responsibility Bill; the sale of peerages in one House, the corruption publicly avowed in the other, nor the notorious infamy of borough traffic in both. Not that we are insensible to their enormity, but that we consider them as but symptoms of that mortal disease which corrodes the vitals of our constitution, and leaves to the people, in their own government, but the shadow of a name.

Impressed with these sentiments we have agreed to form an association, to be called the Society of United Irishmen; and we do pledge ourselves to our country, and mutually to each other, that we will steadily support, and endeavour by all means to carry into effect the following resolutions:—

First. Resolved—That the weight of English influence in the government of this country is so great as to require a cordial union among all the people of Ireland, to maintain that balance which is essential to the preservation of our liberties and the extension of our commerce.

Second. That the sole constitutional mode by which this influence can be opposed is by a complete and radical reform of the representation of the people in Parliament.

Third. That no reform is practicable, efficacious, and just, which shall not include Irishmen of every religious persuasion.

Satisfied as we are that the intestine divisions among Irishmen have too often given encouragement and impunity to profligate, audacious, and corrupt administrations, in measures, which, but for these divisions, they durst not have attempted, we submit our resolutions to the nation as the basis of our political faith.

We have gone to what we conceive to be the root of the evil; we have stated what we conceive to be the remedy. With a Parliament thus reformed every thing is easy; without it nothing can be done; and we do call on, and most earnestly exhort, our countrymen in general to follow our example, and to form similar societies in every quarter of the kingdom, for the promotion of constitutional knowledge, the abolition of bigotry in religion and politics, and the equal distribution of the rights of man throughout all sects and

denominations of Irishmen. The people when thus collected will feel their own weight, and secure that power which theory has already admitted to be their portion, and to which, if they be not aroused by their present provocations to vindicate it, they deserve to forfeit their pretensions for ever.

(This declaration was prepared by Theobald Wolfe Tone, in 1791; the following Constitution and Test were adopted at a later period, when the Society had made considerable progress, and the oath of secrecy was added to the Test, after the passing of the Convention Bill, in 1795. The constitution of committees was framed in May 1796, and the whole code as here given was printed and bound up as a small book. The copy found upon Quigley was dated January 1798.)

The Societies of United Irishmen, ardently desiring that the unawed, uninfluenced, and honest part of the community, should become one great Society of United Irishmen, are of opinion that a general code of regulations is absolutely necessary to accomplish that important end. For this purpose they have, after mature deliberation, adopted the following Constitution and Test, the adoption of which is necessary for such Societies as wish to enter into communications and correspondence with those already established. It is earnestly recommended to Societies to establish a Baronial Committee in a central part of each barony, or such other district as may be thought proper for the purpose of corresponding with each other by deputation or otherwise. The Societies of each barony to be numbered according to seniority, and the number of members to be returned to the Secretary of the Baronial Committee quarterly.

New Societies should be established by a deputation from an old one, who are to see a Secretary appointed and attested according to the Secretary's Test.

The blanks in the constitutional code are to be filled agreeably to the opinion and convenience of each Society.

Constitution.

1st. This Society is constituted for the purpose of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, a communion of rights, and an union of power among Irishmen of

Every Religious Persuasion,

and thereby to obtain a complete reform in the legislature,

founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty.

2d. The members of this Society shall either be ordinary or honorary, and shall not be limited to any description of men, but extend to all persons who may be deemed eligible.

3d. Every candidate for admission into this Society shall be proposed by one member and seconded by another, both of whom shall vouch for his character and principles, and whose names shall be entered in the books of the Society. The candidate to be balloted for on the Society's subsequent meeting, and if one of the beans be black he shall stand rejected.

4th. As a fund is necessary the better to carry into effect the purposes of this association, each member, on his admission, shall pay to the Society the sum of _____; and _____ per month while he shall continue a member.

5th. The officers of this Society shall be a Secretary and a Treasurer, who shall be appointed by ballot every three months, viz., on every first meeting in November, February, May, and August.

6th. This Society, in manner aforesaid, shall appoint two members, who, with the Secretary, shall act for the Society in a Baronial Committee, which members shall receive _____ on each night of their attendance on the said committee.

7th. This Society shall, in manner aforesaid, appoint _____ members, who, with the Treasurer, shall form a Committee of Finances, &c.

8th. At the request of either committees, or of any _____ members signing a requisition, the Secretary, or if he shall be absent, the Treasurer, shall call an extra meeting of the Society.

9th. This Society shall meet in ordinary every second evening, at _____ o'clock, the President to be chosen by a majority of the members present, _____ of whom shall be a quorum.

10th. Every respect and deference shall be paid to the Chairman: on his rising from his seat and taking off his hat there shall be silence and the members be seated. He shall be judge of order and propriety; shall grant leave of absence at pleasure; shall not enter into debate; if any member behave improperly, he is empowered to direct an apology; or if refractory, fine him in any sum not exceeding _____

; and on refusal to do as directed, he shall therefore be expelled the Society for

11th. No member shall speak more than twice to one question without leave from the Chairman.

12th. Every person elected a member of this Society, whether ordinary or honorary, shall, previous to his admission, take the following Test in a separate apartment, in the presence of the persons who proposed and seconded him, and one member appointed by the Chairman; and in case of absence of one of the two persons, the Chairman shall appoint another member to act for the absentee; after which the new member shall be brought into the body of the Society and there take the Test in the usual form.

Test.

In the awful presence of God,

I, *A. B.*, do voluntarily declare, that I will persevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among Irishmen of every religious persuasion; and that I will persevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate representation of all the people of Ireland. I do further declare, that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or punishments, shall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform on, or give evidence against, any member or members of this, or similar Societies, for any act or expression of theirs done or made, collectively or individually, in or out of this Society, in pursuance of the spirit of this obligation.

13th. A member of any other acknowledged Society, being introduced to this Society by a member, shall, upon producing a certificate, signed by the Secretary, and sealed with the seal of the Society to which he may belong, and taking the foregoing Test, be admitted to attend the sittings of this Society.

• 14th. No member shall have a certificate but by applying to the Committee, who shall not grant one, unless the member is leaving his place of residence; which certificate shall be lodged with the Secretary on his return.

15th. When this Society shall amount to the number of thirty-six members it shall be divided by lot; that is, the names of all the members shall be put into a hat or box, the Secretary or Treasurer shall draw out eighteen individually, which eighteen shall be considered the Senior Society, and the remaining eighteen the Junior, who shall apply to the Baronial Committee, through the delegates of the

Senior Society, for a number ; this division shall take place in the months of October, January, April, and July. The fund shall also be equally divided.

16th. That no Society shall be recognized by any Committee, unless approving of and taking the Test, and amounting in number to seven members.

Order of business at Meetings.

1st. New members read Declaration and Test, during which, subscriptions be collected.

2d. New members take the Test, during which, all members standing and uncovered.

3d. Minutes of preceding meeting read.

4th. Reports of Committees received.

5th. Communications called for.

6th. Candidates balloted for.

7th. Candidates proposed.

8th. Motions made and determined.

9th. Place and time of next meeting appointed.

CONSTITUTION OF COMMITTEES AS ADOPTED ON the
10th of MAY, (1796.)

Baronial Committees.

1st. When any barony, or other district, shall contain three or more Societies, three persons from each shall be elected by ballot, conformable to the Sixth Article, to form a Baronial Committee, for three months, their names to be returned to the Secretary of the Senior Society, who shall request a deputation, from the nearest Baronial Committee, to constitute a Committee for the said barony or other district.

2d. When any barony, or district, shall contain eight Societies, they may form another Committee, to be called the Second Committee, of the said barony, or district, provided each contains three or more Societies.

3d. Baronial Committees shall receive delegates from Societies of a contiguous barony, provided said barony do not contain three Societies.

4th. That the Baronial Committee shall correspond with Societies, or individuals, who have subscribed the Declaration, and taken the Test of the present associated Societies.

5th. That all questions shall be determined by a majority of the members present.

6th. That the Baronial Committee being regularly sum-

moned, one-third of its members shall be deemed a quorum, and capable of proceeding to business.

7th. That the business originating in any individual Society shall, at the instance of such Society's delegates, be, by the Baronial Committee, laid before the other Societies.

County Committees.

1st. When any county shall contain three or more Baronial Committees, two persons shall be elected by ballot from each Baronial Committee, to form a County Committee, for three months.

2d. County Committees shall receive delegates from Baronial Committees of adjacent counties, if said counties do not contain three Baronial Committees.

Provincial Committees.

1st. When two or more counties shall have County Committees, three persons shall be elected by ballot from each, to form a Provincial Committee, for three months.

2d. Delegates from County Committees, in other provinces, will be received, if such province do not contain two County Committees.

National Committee.

That when two Provincial Committees are formed they shall elect five persons from each, by ballot, to form a National Committee.

Note.—Societies first meetings in November, February, May, and August, to be on or before the 5th; Baronial Committees on or before the 8th; County Committees on or before the 25th of the above months. Baronial, County, and Provincial Committees shall meet at least once in every month, and report to their constituents.

Names of Committee men should not be known to any person but by those who elect them.

Test for the Secretaries of Societies or Committees.

In the awful presence of God,

I, *A. B.*, do voluntarily declare, that as long as I shall hold the office of Secretary to this _____, I will, to the utmost of my abilities, faithfully discharge the duties thereof. That all papers or documents received by me, as Secretary,

I will safely keep : I will not give any of them, or any copy or copies of them, to any person or persons, members or others, but by a vote of this , and that I will, at the expiration of my Secretaryship, deliver up to this , all such papers as may be then in my possession.

Certificate.

Society of United Irishmen of

I hereby certify that *A. B.* has been duly elected ; and having taken the Test provided in the Constitution, has been admitted a member of this Society.

N.

Secretary.

No. XII.

“ The spirit of the French mob to the people of Ireland.”

The following extracts from Thiers' History of the French Revolution, and from other publications on the same subject, may serve to exhibit the nature of the “ spirit ” which Hamilton Rowan, Theobald Wolfe Tone, and other soi-disant patriots so ardently desired to instil into the people of Ireland :—

“ The number of suspected had increased in Paris alone to 7 or 8,000 ! People had accustomed themselves to consider ‘ suspected ’ persons as irreconcilable enemies, whom it was necessary to destroy for the welfare of the republic. To sacrifice thousands of individuals whose only fault was to think in a certain manner, nay, whose opinions were frequently precisely the same as those of their persecutors, seemed a perfectly natural thing, from the habit which people had acquired of destroying one another. The facility with which they put others to death, or encountered death themselves, had become extraordinary. In the field of battle, on the scaffold, thousands perished daily, and nobody was any longer shocked at it. The first murders proceeded from a real irritation caused by danger. Such perils had now ceased, the Republic was victorious, people now slaughtered not from indignation, but from the atrocious habit they had contracted. All the distinguished persons confined in the prisons had perished, the unfortunate sister of Louis the 16th had been immolated in her turn, and death was already descending from the upper to the lower classes of society. We find at this period on the list of the revolutionary tribunals, tailors, shoemakers, hair-dressers, butchers,

farmers, publicans, nay, even labouring men, condemned for sentiments and language held to be counter revolutionary. To convey in short an idea of the number of executions at this period, it will be sufficient to state that between March 1793, when the tribunal commenced its operations, and the month of June 1794, 474 persons had been condemned; and that from the 10th of June to the 17th of July it condemned 1,285 persons! so that the total number of victims (to the spirit of the French mob), in Paris alone, up to the 17th of July 1794, amounted to 1,759."

At Nantes the victims to the same "spirit" were so numerous, that Thiers informs us that the Loire was covered with dead bodies; ships in weighing anchor sometimes raised boats filled with drowned persons: birds of prey flocked to the banks of the river, and gorged themselves with human flesh!! The fish, feasting upon a food which rendered them unwholesome, were forbidden by the municipality to be caught. On one occasion 500 children of both sexes, the eldest of whom was not fourteen years old; were led out to the same spot to be shot; the littleness of their stature caused most of the bullets at the first discharge to pass over their heads; they broke their bonds, rushed into the ranks of the executioners, clung round their knees, and sought for mercy. But nothing could soften the assassins. They put them to death, even while lying at their feet!

Prudhomme has given the following appalling summary of the victims to the "Spirit of the French mob."

Persons guillotined by sentence of the revolutionary tribunal:—

Noblemen.	1,278
Noblewomen	750
Wives of labourers and artizans.	1,467
Nuns	350
Priests.	1,135
Common persons	13,623

Total . . . 18,603

Men killed in La Vendée	900,000
Women killed in La Vendée	15,000
Children killed in La Vendée	22,000
Victims at Nantes	32,000
Victims at Lyons.	31,000

Total . . . 1,000,000

Of these, 500 children were shot.

1,500 children were drowned.

264 women were shot.

500 women were drowned.

300 priests were shot.

460 priests were drowned.

1,400 nobles were drowned.

5,300 artizans were drowned.—all in cold blood.

In addition to the above, 3,748 women were ascertained to have died in childbirth from premature labour, caused by terror.

This account of the number of the victims to the “spirit of the French mob” does not include the massacres at Versailles, at the Abbaye, the Carmelites, and other prisons on the 2d of September, of the Glaciere of Avignon, those shot at Toulon and Marseilles, or the persons slain in the little town of Bedoin, *the whole population of which was massacred!*

Hazlett, in his Life of Napoleon, says, “What at first was stern necessity became a habit and a sport, and the arm inured to slaughter struck at random, sparing neither friend nor foe. The soul, harrowed up by the spectacle of the most appalling cruelties, could not do without them, and nursed the dreadful appetite for death—the habit of going to the place of execution resembled that of visiting the theatre!”

What shall we now say of the men who sought to introduce the “spirit of the French mob” into Ireland?

THE END.

ERRATA IN VOL. II.

- Page 38, line 38. dele "do not."
357, line 3, dele the commas before and after "as."
364. line 21, for "lasses," *read* "classes."
436, line 22, for "Ireland," *read* "Iceland."

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